

# CONFLICTING COUNTRIES – CONFLICTING PERSPECTIVES?

A comparative analysis of the *Tampa* Crisis in Australian and  
Norwegian media

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## Abstract

How do national media position themselves when two Western countries suddenly fall into a diplomatic crisis? Is the news coverage coloured only by patriotism and national allegiance, or will additional factors such as the degree of press freedom, socio-cultural norms, news values and media profile influence the degree of consensus between press and the authorities? I have tried to answer this in a comparative analysis of the coverage of the *Tampa* crisis in two Norwegian and two Australian newspapers. Using quantitative content analysis and a discourse analysis inspired by Laclau & Mouffe, I examine the similarities and differences between the four newspapers, and discuss the findings in the light of Hallin & Mancini's set of three Models for comparing media systems. I also examine which news values were given prominence to, and whether "enemy images" were formed. The study shows that the Australian newspapers primarily focused on people smuggling and realpolitik, while the Norwegian newspapers presented the *Tampa* crisis as an attack on Norwegian, humanitarian principles. The Norwegian newspapers conveyed enemy images of Australia as a nation, but there were few enemy images of Norway to be found in the Australian newspapers.

## Sammendrag

Hvordan posisjonerer de nasjonale mediene seg når to vestlige land plutselig havner i en diplomatisk krise? Farges nyhetsdekningen utelukkende av patriosisme og nasjonal lojalitet, eller vil tilleggsfaktorer som grad av pressefrihet, sosiokulturelle normer, nyhetsverdier og medieprofil påvirke graden av konsensus mellom pressen og myndighetene? Dette har jeg forsøkt å besvare i en sammenlignende analyse av "Tampa"-sakens dekning i to norske og to australske aviser. Ved hjelp av kvantitativ innholdsanalyse og en diskursanalyse inspirert av Laclau & Mouffe, undersøker jeg likheter og forskjeller mellom avisene, og diskuterer funnene i lys av Hallin & Mancinis tredelte modell for sammenligning av mediesystemer. Jeg undersøker i tillegg hvilke nyhetsverdier som ble vektlagt i dekningen, og hvorvidt fiendebilder ble dannet. Studien viser at "Tampa"-saken i australske aviser primært handlet om menneskesmugling og realpolitikk, mens de norske avisene formidlet konflikten som et angrep på norske, humanitære prinsipper. De to norske avisene formidlet fiendebilder av Australia som nasjon, mens det var få fiendebilder å spore av Norge i de australske avisene.



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# Content

<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>- 1 -</b>
1.1 MOTIVATION/ RATIONALE.....	- 1 -
1.2 OBJECTIVE.....	- 2 -
1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS.....	- 4 -
<b>2 THE TAMPA CRISIS.....</b>	<b>- 5 -</b>
2.1 CRITICAL REPORTS OF BIAS AND CENSORSHIP .....	- 8 -
<b>3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>- 11 -</b>
3.1 COMPARING MEDIA SYSTEMS .....	- 12 -
3.1.1 Norway and the Democratic, Corporatist Model .....	- 14 -
3.1.2 The Australian press – a member of the Liberal Model?.....	- 16 -
3.2 NEWS VALUES .....	- 19 -
3.3 NATIONALISM, CONFLICTS AND ENEMY IMAGES .....	- 22 -
3.3.1 The Norwegian virtue regime .....	- 24 -
<b>4 RESEARCH DESIGN.....</b>	<b>- 25 -</b>
4.1 DATA SELECTION .....	- 25 -
4.1.1 Newspapers.....	- 26 -
4.1.2 Time frame .....	- 27 -
4.1.3 Selection of coding units.....	- 28 -
4.2 METHODOLOGIES .....	- 29 -
4.2.1 A quantitative Approach.....	- 29 -
4.2.2 The quantitative Content Analysis.....	- 31 -
4.2.3 A qualitative approach – Discourse Analysis .....	- 34 -
4.2.4 Implementation of the Discourse Theoretical Analysis .....	- 38 -
<b>5 QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>- 40 -</b>
5.1 QUANTITY AND DISPERSION OF THE WHOLE COVERAGE .....	- 40 -
5.2 EDITORIAL COVERAGE .....	- 41 -
5.2.1 Quantity .....	- 41 -
5.2.2 Size (area).....	- 44 -
5.2.3 Illustrations .....	- 45 -
5.2.4 Sources.....	- 46 -
5.2.5 Inclination .....	- 50 -
5.2.6 Inclination over time .....	- 53 -
5.3 SUMMARY .....	- 54 -
<b>6 DISCOURSE THEORETICAL ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>- 56 -</b>
6.1 THE PRELUDE .....	- 56 -
6.1.1 Dagbladet, Tuesday 28 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 56 -
6.1.2 Aftenposten, Tuesday 28 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 58 -
6.1.3 Aftenposten, Tuesday 28 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 60 -
6.1.4 Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday 28 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 61 -
6.1.5 Dagbladet, Wednesday 29 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 62 -
6.1.6 Dagbladet, Wednesday 29 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 67 -
6.1.7 The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 29 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 62 -
6.1.8 The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 29 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 63 -

6.1.9	Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday 29 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 67 -
6.2	THE ESCALATION .....	- 68 -
6.2.1	Dagbladet, Thursday 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 68 -
6.2.2	Aftenposten, Thursday 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 69 -
6.2.3	Aftenposten, Friday 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 70 -
6.2.4	The Daily Telegraph, Thursday 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 71 -
6.2.5	Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2001 .....	- 73 -
6.2.6	Dagbladet, Friday 31 <sup>st</sup> August 2001 .....	- 74 -
6.2.7	The Daily Telegraph, Friday 31 <sup>st</sup> August 2001 .....	- 75 -
6.2.8	Sydney Morning Herald Friday 31 <sup>st</sup> August 2001 .....	- 76 -
6.3	TOWARDS A SOLUTION .....	- 78 -
6.3.1	Aftenposten Saturday the 1 <sup>st</sup> of August 2001 .....	- 78 -
6.3.2	Aftenposten, Saturday 1 <sup>st</sup> September 2001 .....	- 79 -
6.3.3	Dagbladet, Sunday 2 <sup>nd</sup> September 2001 .....	- 80 -
6.3.4	The Sunday Telegraph 2 <sup>nd</sup> of September 2001 .....	- 81 -
6.3.5	The Sunday Telegraph, 2 <sup>nd</sup> September 2001 .....	- 83 -
6.3.6	Sydney Morning Herald, Monday 3 <sup>rd</sup> September 2001 .....	- 84 -
6.3.7	Dagbladet, Tuesday 4 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 85 -
6.3.8	Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday 4 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 86 -
6.4	THE AFTERMATH .....	- 88 -
6.4.1	Aftenposten Monday 3 <sup>rd</sup> September 2001 .....	- 88 -
6.4.2	The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 5 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 89 -
6.4.3	Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday 5 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 90 -
6.4.4	Dagbladet Thursday 6 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 91 -
6.4.5	The Daily Telegraph, Thursday 6 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 92 -
6.4.6	Aftenposten Friday 7 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 93 -
6.4.7	Sydney Morning Herald, Friday 7 <sup>th</sup> September 2001 .....	- 94 -
6.5	SUMMARY .....	- 95 -
<b>7</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>- 96 -</b>
7.1	POLITICIANS ON THE OFFENSIVE .....	- 96 -
7.2	PATRIOTISM AND ENEMY IMAGES .....	- 97 -
7.3	POLARISED TABLOIDS .....	- 98 -
7.4	CONFLICTING COUNTRIES – CONFLICTING PERSPECTIVES? .....	- 99 -
7.5	DOES THE <i>TAMPA</i> CRISIS VERIFY HALLIN & MANCINI’S THREE MODELS? .....	- 100 -
	<b>REFERENCE LIST .....</b>	<b>- 103 -</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 1: REMAINING TABLES AND GRAPHS .....</b>	<b>- 111 -</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 2: THE IDEOLOGICAL MODEL OF THE TAMPA CRISIS .....</b>	<b>- 131 -</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 3: CODE BOOK FOR THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>- 133 -</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 4: SOURCES .....</b>	<b>- 137 -</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 5: QUANTITATIVE CODE FORM .....</b>	<b>- 160 -</b>



# **1 Introduction**

On the 27th August 2001, Australia's president John Howard enraged the Norwegian population when he refused to allow a Norwegian registered cargo ship -heavily laden with Afghan refugees- to enter Australian waters. The *M/S Tampa* had, at the request of the Australian coastguard, rescued 438 boat people from a distressed fishing vessel. The Australian Government, however, had become tired of the ever-increasing stream of refugees taking the sea route from Indonesia to Australia, and decided the *Tampa* refugees were a matter that had to be resolved between Indonesia and Norway. The stand-off led to an eight-day long diplomatic dispute between the Australian and Norwegian authorities, and while the governments negotiated, the *Tampa* and its refugee cargo hung in limbo as the world's media watched.

## **1.1 Motivation**

My interest in the *Tampa* crisis evolved while I studied Development Communication at Macquarie University in Sydney, 2005. During a discussion about media democracy and governmental censorship, one of my fellow students alleged that the Australian Government had made false accusations about the refugees rescued by the Norwegian vessel *Tampa* in order to gain support for its policy. According to my fellow student, the Government had claimed that the boat people threw their children overboard to secure rescue and passage to Australia. Footage had been released showing children in the water, and the press picked up on the spin. Later, a senate inquiry had proved that the Government consciously misled the public with the "Children Overboard" claim, in order to demonise illegal immigrants. The photographs purporting to show children thrown into the sea had been taken after the boat sank. By the time the Australian public found out about the manipulation, Prime Minister John Howard and his Liberal-National coalition had already been re-elected. It surprised me that the Government had been so successful in manipulating these facts in a democracy like Australia. The information from my fellow student made me suspect that the Norwegian media had approached the conflict quite

differently from its Australian counterparts. I did not recall the “children overboard”-affair<sup>1</sup> from Norwegian media, and wondered whether it deliberately had not been reported, or whether Norwegian journalists had better access to the facts than the Australian media. This information triggered my interest in how the national media positions itself when a country lands in an international conflict, and which sides of the conflict they choose to emphasise in their coverage.

When I began to research the course of events, I discovered that my fellow student had in fact mixed up the *Tampa* crisis with another boat of refugees rescued in roughly the same area two months later- it was in the latter case that the refugees had been accused of threatening to throw the children overboard, not during the *Tampa* incident. This put an abrupt end to my hypothesis that there had been a cover up in the Norwegian media about the children overboard accusations, but I realised that the *Tampa* incident would nonetheless make an excellent case for conducting a comparative analysis of the news coverage in two countries which pit themselves against one another in a political conflict.

## 1.2 Objective

The main objective of this case study is to analyse and compare

*how the Tampa crisis was covered in the Australian and Norwegian media.*

I wish to examine this by investigating on one hand the socio-political and cultural context, and on the other hand more practical aspects of news production from the chosen sources. Especially important is examination of patriotism and the political affiliation this may have created.

The aim is to investigate whether the conflict between the Australian and the Norwegian authorities created bias in the media coverage, or whether the event was reported similarly in both countries. This is to be achieved by looking at how extensive the coverage was, what the main focus was, which sources the media relied upon, and which discourses the media entered the *Tampa* crisis into.

The media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis was influenced by a variety of factors. The first was the political context. The *Tampa* crisis occurred a couple of weeks prior to the general election in Norway. With the polls showing failing support for the ruling Labour party (Narud

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<sup>1</sup> For an account the “children overboard” affair, see Everingham 2003: 39; Manne 2004: 39-41; Mares 2002: 135; Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 247.

2003: 185), the dispute provided a golden opportunity for the Norwegian Government to show some political muscle in a stand-off against the Australian authorities. In Australia, Prime Minister John Howard (LP) was campaigning to get re-elected at the General election in November that same year. Howard and his Liberal-National coalition were at the time losing votes to One Nation, a nationalist right wing political party led by Pauline Hanson, whose main focus was on tightening up Australia's immigration policy. It has been suggested that Howard refused landing to the *Tampa* to prove to his voters that he was strong on border protection measures (Every 2006: 15, 52; Mackerras 2001: 901; Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 58, 231-235; Mares 2002: 133). These political circumstances substantiate the hypothesis that *the political powers in both countries adopted an aggressive media position to show their political muscle.*

Another factor which may be expected to have slanted the media coverage is the cultural and geographical proximity to the conflict. When the media identifies itself with one of the parties to a conflict, this will normally colour the coverage. In war situations or in conflicts with vital implications for the national interest, the degree of consensus will increase both in public opinion and in the media. If the national political establishment is united, the media will normally avoid critical reporting when urgent foreign policy matters occur. But in the scenario of different political elites being locked in turmoil, the media will then be more likely to cover these opinions, and with that will probably also polarise public opinion (Hallin 1986; Shaw & Martin 1993, cited in Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2001: 25-26). Based on this theory, it is reasonable to assume that assuming that in this case there was consensus within the Australian and the Norwegian elites respectively, *Prime Minister John Howard's stand-off was supported by the Australian media, but not well received in the Norwegian press.* If this proved true, it would also be reasonable to assume that *the Australian media constructed "enemy images"<sup>2</sup> of the Afghan boat people.* When enemy images are established, "A diffuse consensus takes place in the media, who sets the tone about 'right' and 'wrong', 'enemy' and 'friend'" (Ottosen 1994: 92, my translation). This polarisation along the lines of "good versus evil" or "us versus them", has similarities to propaganda (Nohrstedt 2001: 177).

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<sup>2</sup> The "Enemy Image" concept is defined by Ottosen as "A negative, stereotypical description of a nation / state / religion / ideology or regime / Head of State. This is expressed through metaphors, imagery or other linguistic, visual, graphical effects that create expectations about the inhumane, aggressive or hostile acts." (Ottosen 1994:103, my translation).

I also expected the internal culture of the two nations to influence the media. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Islam has emerged as the new “enemy image” in the West (Ottosen 1994). My hypothesis is still that *the Norwegian media, in contrast to the Australian, avoided creating an enemy image around the Afghan refugees*. According to Tvedt (2003), the idea of the “Norwegian Virtue Regime”<sup>3</sup> and the norm of protecting weaker members of society, are considered an integral part of the Norwegian national character. In addition, the shipwrecked and the crew were quite literally in the same boat – both were victims of the measures taken by the Australian authorities. Portraying the refugees as the enemy in this case would seem to be an unlikely angle to put on the story- hence it seems more likely that the Norwegian press created enemy images of the Australian authorities, since prohibiting the *Tampa* from landing could easily be interpreted as an attack on the Norwegian values described above.

The presence of tabloid journalism in the data material is the final factor which I expect may have had an impact on the coverage. Tabloidisation entails simplifying and shaping stories to make them more entertaining and easy to understand. Use of personal stories, drama, scandals, sensationalism, giant headlines, and extensive photographs are all standard techniques used to make a story more tabloid. This leads to the hypothesis that *the tabloid media may have been more biased, person- and conflict orientated, in comparison with more serious media who might be expected to give a more modest, considered, and complex treatment of the affair*.

### **1.3 Overview of the chapters**

This introductory chapter has given a short description of my motivation for studying the *Tampa* crisis, and presented the objective of the thesis. Chapter 2 describes the context and background of the *Tampa* crisis, and reviews earlier studies that have dealt with the incident. In chapter 3, a theoretical framework consisting of Hallin & Mancini’s media systems approach, together with theories of news values, conflict reporting and *othering*, is presented. Chapter 4 offers an introduction to quantitative content analysis, together with a presentation of the methodological and theoretical aspects of discourse analysis. It also presents the selection of data, and accounts

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<sup>3</sup>Tvedt (2003: 34) defines *Godhetsregimet* (‘Virtue Regime’, or literally translated, ‘Goodness Regime’) as “A dominant norm-justifying and norm-producing regime, where ideas and rhetoric about virtue regulate the internal relations in the system and give the system its fundamental external legitimacy.”

for the data collection, classification and any methodological challenges met in my analysis. In chapter 5 and 6, the quantitative analysis and the discourse analysis are presented. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the findings from chapter 5 and 6, and discusses them in light of the theoretical framework presented in chapter 3.

## **2 The Tampa Crisis**

Over an eight day period in August and September 2001, the world witnessed a dramatic diplomatic dispute between Australia, Norway and Indonesia. The Norwegian freighter *MS Tampa* responded to an Australian search and rescue broadcast and intercepted 438 boat people, most of whom were Afghan asylum seekers, from a sinking Indonesian vessel heading for the Australian territory Christmas Island. The *Tampa* was on its way to Indonesia, but the asylum-seekers demanded to be taken to their original destination, and as Captain Arne Rinnan and his crew were outnumbered and did not want to risk trouble, they decided to comply with the refugees' request and bring them to Australia.

Before the *Tampa* reached Christmas Island, Australian authorities ordered it to remain outside Australian territorial waters. The Government considered the ship an assault on Australian sovereignty by the Indonesian people-smuggling industry. If the boat people succeeded in getting to Christmas Island, this would signal Howard's Government's inability to control the borders. The cabinet decided to deny the shipwrecked disembarkation rights, and the *Tampa* was not permitted to land in Australian territories. Prime Minister John Howard argued that it was a matter for Indonesia and Norway to solve, and that the *Tampa*, according to international law, should return to Indonesia. The problem was that Indonesia insisted it was not their problem to solve, and the refugees threatened to jump overboard if forced to return to Indonesia, which put the captain in a difficult position (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 98-99; Mares 2002: 122).

After the condition of several passengers became critical, Captain Rinnan broadcast a Pan Pan: an urgent request for permission for the ship to dock at Christmas Island. He reported that several of the asylum seekers were unconscious, and others were suffering from skin disease, fatigue, exhaustion and stomach cramps (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 95). Rinnan also argued that the ship could not proceed to Indonesia because it was unseaworthy: the ship was only certified

to carry 60 people, and there were no lifeboats or other safety equipment available for the asylum seekers in case of emergency (Pickering 2005: 70). The Australian Government still refused permission for the ship to enter Australian territorial waters.

After three days, Captain Rinnan declared a state of emergency and proceeded to enter Australian territorial waters without permission. The Australian Government responded by deploying The Special Air Services Regiment (SASR) to board the ship to prevent it from approaching any further toward Christmas Island (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 100-102; Pickering 2005: 70). The Australian Government wanted to prevent anyone aboard the ship from applying for asylum, which they were legally entitled to upon entering Australian territory. The Australian troops informed Captain Rinnan that he had to return to international waters, but he refused on the grounds that it was unsafe to do so as long as he had the asylum seekers aboard. The *Tampa*'s owners, the shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen, supported the captain's decision, and the Norwegian Government warned the Australian authorities not to force the ship back into international waters.

Attempts by the Australian Government to have the Indonesian Government accept the refugees failed. The Norwegian Government also refused to accept the refugees, due to the long distance between the ship and Norway, and the Norwegian Government also reported Australia for failing to obey its duties under international law to the United Nations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the International Maritime Organisation.

The refugees handed over a collective application for asylum to the Norwegian Ambassador Ove Thorsheim when he visited the ship, and after negotiations with the UN they were eventually transferred onto a Royal Australian Navy vessel (Pickering 2005: 70). Those of the asylum seekers who had been travelling together as families, approximately 150 people, were diverted to New Zealand, where they were granted asylum and progress to citizenship. Australia paid New Zealand for accepting these refugees (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 143, 212). The rest of the refugees were transported to Nauru under the "Pacific Solution"- a Government policy of transporting asylum seekers to small island nations such as Nauru, rather than allowing them to land on the Australian mainland and subsequently apply for asylum there. Nauru was paid nearly AU\$20 million (NOK100 million) by Australia to hold the refugees in detention camps and process their asylum applications (Mares 2002: 127). Those eventually found to be genuine refugees were granted three-year temporary protection visas, allowing them to temporarily stay in the country, with more limited rights than a standard refugee visa holder.

Internationally, Australia was criticised for neglecting its human rights responsibilities, although a few countries facing similar immigration problems gave the Australian Government some support. The Government's stand-off also caused debate domestically, and a vocal minority opposed the policy. In an attempt to make the Australian Government fulfil its duty, under the migration act, to bring asylum seekers to a zone where their asylum applications could be processed, the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties (Liberty Victoria) brought an action against the Government. Human rights advocate Julian Burnside, acting as counsel for Liberty Victoria, argued that actions of the Government had put Australia in breach of its obligations under international conventions and exposed the country to international censure (Burnside 2002).

Nevertheless, the stand-off attracted strong support among the majority of the Australian public, especially since the September 11, 2001 attacks occurred only a week after the *Tampa* crisis was resolved. The Minister for Defence, Peter Reith, even suggested that the refugees may be harbouring terrorists (Mares 2002: 134; Manne 2004: 41). In addition to any fears about terrorism, many Australians considered the asylum seekers as "queue-jumpers", with the implication that they were making false claims for asylum merely to facilitate entry into a more desirable country (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 38). The risk of Australia becoming a soft target for people smugglers was also a topic of debate, the danger being that that such a status would greatly increase the amount of refugees headed to Australia (Barutciski 2005: 25-26). As a result, the Howard Government tightened up Australian immigration policy and carried through a number of new regulations to make it harder for boat people to seek asylum in Australia.

Howard's Liberal-National Government's popularity increased as the *Tampa* crisis played out (Manne 2004: 36; 2009: 244). At one point newspaper and talk back radio polls showed that 90% of the Australian population supported Howard's policy on the matter, and the party zealously campaigned on the basis of their handling of the *Tampa* affair for re-election at the November 2001 general election (Manne 2004: 38). The Australian Labor Party (ALP) recorded its lowest primary vote since 1934, and Howard managed to win back voters from the right-wing One Nation party, who had campaigned on the basis that Australia should start filling up refugee boats with fuel, food and medical supplies, before turning them away. One Nation's leader Pauline Hanson regarded the boat people as queue-jumpers rather than genuine refugees (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 58). In the wake of the *Tampa* crisis, One Nation suddenly became irrelevant, and Hanson did not even win a seat in the senate (Marr & Wilkinson 2004: 375).

In Norway, there has been little debate over the Government's handling of the *Tampa* crisis, as it was uncontroversial, and did not have any implications for Norwegian society. The crew of the *Tampa*, however, received a lot of attention after the incident. Captain Rinnan received the Nansen Refugee Award from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for his efforts toward following international principles for rescuing those in distress at sea, despite the Australian Government's stand-off<sup>4</sup>.

## 2.1 Critical reports of Bias and Censorship

Studies of the Norwegian media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis are non-existent, but the affair has been extensively covered in Australia. It has been a subject of study across disciplines such as political science, sociology, psychology, cultural studies, migration studies, law and media studies. Most of the research has focused on Australian immigration policy and the general election of 2001, but some studies have also examined the media coverage, since the media had important roles both as the spokesperson and as the critic of Australian Government policy during the crisis. This chapter sums up the most important contributions to this debate.

Kelly's (2002) analysis of the press coverage of Howard's refugee policy in two Australian newspapers, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) and *The Australian*, shows that, in contrast to a majority of Australian newspapers<sup>5</sup>, both papers were critical of Howard's policy (Kelly 2002: 29). Kelly's analysis suggests that the *SMH*'s coverage of the *Tampa* crisis was "Measured in its editorials, emotional in its news, critical (though not unfairly) of Howard in its news and columns, and cynical about his motives" (Kelly 2002: 25). The study concludes that the two newspapers' criticism of the Government for "Stirring xenophobia and racism" was reasonable (Kelly 2002: 4). Like Kelly, Manning (2004) has also criticised the Australian coverage, calling the *Tampa* crisis a classic example of "Dog whistle politics, where a subliminal message, not literally apparent in the words used, is heard by sections of the community."

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<sup>4</sup> Rinnan also received a number of other awards, such as the King of Norway's Medal of Honour (1st Class), the Australian Human Rights award, the Safety at Sea International Amver Award, Captain of the Year 2001 by the British shipping journal Lloyds List, and "Name of the year, 2001" in the Norwegian newspapers VG and Dagbladet (Pugh 2004: 50; Svabø 2002: 171; Tazreiter 2003: 13).

<sup>5</sup> Such as for example *The Daily Telegraph*



(Manning 2004: 1). Manning's analysis of the discourse of *The Daily Telegraph* and the *SMH* over two years suggests that Arabs and Muslims, especially Palestinians, were described as "Violent to the point of terrorism" (Manning 2004: 45). His report concludes that Sydney journalism, in both foreign and domestic reporting, has picked up the "Imperial inheritance with full force" (Manning 2004: 44).

A third damning review of the media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis comes from Ward (2002). Ward is critical of how the mainstream media failed to understand that the *Tampa* affair was part of a calculated strategy from the Liberal Party to gather votes, and in contrast to Kelly (2002), he is critical to the coverage of *The Australian*. Ward argues that the newspaper failed to take the Labor Party's accusation of the Howard Government using "Wedge politics"<sup>6</sup> seriously (Ward 2002: 22-23). The journalists, according to Ward, did not realise that the Government's strategy was carefully researched and planned in advance. Ward is of the opinion that had the journalists understood this, the *Tampa* crisis may have been framed differently, and he stresses how only shortly before the *Tampa* entered Australian waters, Defence Minister Peter Reith gave his media relations staff strict instructions that all press releases had to be cleared by his office or junior minister Bruce Scott, and that the SASR had been training for such a contingency (Ward 2002: 23). Ward concludes that *The Australian* neglected the aspect of political timing in its news reports and focused more on the international criticism of Howard's stand-off than the plight of the refugees (Ward 2002: 26). Although critical to the media coverage, Ward gives an *ABC Radio* journalist and a couple of journalists in the *Financial Review* credit for raising the question of wedge politics (Ward 2002: 29-30).

The Anti-Discrimination Board (ADB) has investigated how ideas to do with race, racial prejudice, racial stereotyping, and analyses with a racial element, manifest themselves in Australian media. The ADB agrees with the criticism above, and claims that the *Tampa* crisis was framed in terms of fear and invasion by the Federal Government. According to the ADB, the news reports predominantly reflected the Government's political *spin* on the issues. On the occasions where the Government policy regarding asylum seekers was questioned, the style of

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<sup>6</sup> Political scientist Shaun Wilson, defines wedge politics as "a political party stirring up populist feeling on an issue or minority group and then tagging its political opponent with support for that unpopular cause or group" (Wilson 2001: 14, cited in Ward (2002: 30).

language used still managed to dehumanise and criminalise those who arrived in Australia without a valid visa (NSW Anti-Discrimination Board 2003: 55). During the *Tampa* crisis, the Government directed the military to tightly control what news reports and images could come from the *Tampa*, and the media were prohibited from contacting the shipwrecked asylum seekers onboard. Some commentators described the flow of information that did come from the Government as often vague and contradictory (ibid, 46). Any journalists who tried to investigate the implications of the Government policies on asylum seekers were accused of bias, and of misrepresenting the facts of the case (ibid, 56). The analysis goes further than the other critics in its criticism, suggesting that there exists institutional racism in the Australian media (ibid, 79).

Burnside (2002) also lashes out at the Government for banning the media from going anywhere near the ship (Burnside 2002: 19). Burnside, along with the ADB (2003) and Ward (2002), argues that the Government, by denying the press access to the *Tampa* refugees, suppressed their version of the story. In this manner, the Government could pursue its misanthropic agenda with what Burnside describes as “Dishonest rhetoric, wholly unimpeded by facts” (Burnside 2002: 19). Howard was thus successful in his aim of preventing the refugees from being regarded by the public as “individual people for whom Australian citizens could have human sympathy” (Burnside 2002: 19).

Kampmark (2006) has placed the *Tampa* crisis in a comparative historical context, and proposes that the ‘illegal’ refugees who arrived in Australia between 2001 and 2003 by boat, most of whom were Muslim, met similar reactions to those met by Jewish refugees escaping to Australia before and during World War II. According to Kampmark, the ease with which the issues of terror and security slid into the debate upon refugees was illustrated by the media’s implicit assumptions that the refugees constituted a security threat (2006: 9). Papastergiadis (2006) also discusses how the hostile attitudes towards refugees have been popularised in the media. Papastergiadis stresses that Prime Minister John Howard’s discursive production was a social product, rather than a result of individual authorship, and argues that the refugee debate is a product of on one hand the national imaginary, and on the other hand spatial anxieties, transmitted through global media.

As this chapter demonstrates, some of the studies of the *Tampa* crisis have been concerned with the coverage of specific media (Kelly 2002; Manning 2004), whereas others have focused on how the Australian authorities controlled what the media were able to report

(Kampmark 2006; Burnside 2002). Common to all the Australian studies examined in my review is their criticism of the majority of the Australian media coverage, pointing out pro-government bias, *othering* of the refugees, censorship and to some extent racist rhetoric. My study can be looked upon as a continuation of the many studies analysing the Australian media coverage, offering a new, previously unresearched dimension in its comparative analysis of the Norwegian and the Australian media coverage. My thesis also differentiates itself from the other studies by focussing more on the media's coverage of the *Tampa* crisis as an international conflict.

### 3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a theoretical framework consisting of three approaches that cover both macro-structural factors such as cultural and political context, as well as more specific variables that may influence news coverage. I believe these theories will shed light on the media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis and help elevate the results from the analysis into a broader, political and cultural context. As the presentation of the same event will often vary between different national media systems, I regard Hallin & Mancini's (2004) three models of media and politics as useful in explaining the media in relation to the socio-political circumstances within which it operates. Hallin & Mancini's three models are presented in the first part of this chapter. Then follows a description of the main characteristics and operating conditions of Australian and Norwegian media, and I discuss how and whether they fit into Hallin & Mancini's approach.

Determining factors for news production and newsworthiness constitutes the next theoretical approach discussed in this chapter. Circumstances such as established news values, productional conditions and media type are among the parameters that are presented as being essential to how and why the media covers an incident.

Finally, I account for *nationalism*, *othering* and the formation of *enemy images*, which are common ingredients in war and conflict reporting and may therefore help explain the national mechanisms that exert an influence when a country finds itself in the position of having to defend itself from an external threat.

### 3.1 Comparing media systems

The first Reporters Without Borders Worldwide Press Freedom Index, published in 2002, placed Norway in first place and Australia in twelfth place. Norway has since occupied a shared first place every year except for 2006. In contrast, Australia has come between 28th and 50th every year except 2002 (Reporters Without Borders [online]). This major qualitative difference between the Norwegian and the Australian media systems is an important underlying factor that may have affected the media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis. Even though media is a global product, it is used and experienced differently in different places, dependent on which cultural, linguistic, and ideological conditions exist, and who the audience is (Cohen et al. 1996; Thompson 1995, cited in Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2001:18).

McQuail (2003) is critical to the many attempts at creating a coherent representation and classification of the various media models, such as the classic Siebert et al.'s *Four Theories of the Press* (1956). At the most basic level of analysis, however, McQuail does acknowledge that there exists a fundamental contrast between two traditions. One emphasises the individual's right to freedom above everything else, while the other balances this with, or prioritises, public or collective welfare, among other things through an effective public sphere.

McQuail calls the two approaches 'libertarian' and 'democratic', but underlines that they are far from homogeneous. Among the libertarians can be found radicals, anarchists, extreme conservatives, and free marketers with differing degrees of pragmatism. Democrats on the other hand include everything from professionals, social democrats and left-critical theorists, to community activists, paternalistic conservatives and moderate reformers. Conditions such as left wing vs. right wing tensions, the championing of the public versus the private sector, essentialism vs. utilitarianism and ideology vs. pragmatism play an additional role. Since these factors make the two groups so fragmented, McQuail's conclusion is that "There are too many possibilities for any simple solution to be found" (McQuail 2003: 63).

Hallin & Mancini pick up McQuail's criticism of Siebert et al.'s *Four Theories*, claiming it has "Stalked the landscape of media studies like a horror-movie zombie for decades beyond its natural lifetime" (2004: 10). The criticism from Hallin & Mancini is primarily based on the observation that the models are badly substantiated empirically, and lack room for the actual differences between the various world-wide media systems (Hallin & Mancini 2004:9-10). In addition, Hallin & Mancini are critical to the fact that the theory has been developed from a

largely North American point of view, and that by looking primarily at the USA, the UK and Russia, Siebert et al. among other things over-simplify the diversity found in Europe<sup>7</sup> (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 10). They try nonetheless to replace the models from *Four Theories* with a new set of three models for comparing different structures and dynamics of media and political systems in different countries. While Siebert et al. consider media to be a variable which stands in a dependant relationship to a “System of social control”, Hallin and Mancini’s model is based on political institutions and media/journalistic practice being in a mutually dependant relationship to one another (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 8).

The three models are as follows: the Liberal Model, present in Britain, Ireland and North America; the Democratic Corporatist Model, to be found across northern continental Europe; and the Polarised Pluralist Model, which prevails in the Mediterranean countries of Southern Europe. They have been developed by analysing a comparable set of cases from 18 countries in North America and Western Europe, and putting all countries into one of three models after looking at four major media system variables. These are political parallelism, journalistic professionalism (as opposed to the media being instrumentalised by outside forces), the structure of the media market, and the extent and nature of state intervention in the media in the areas of regulation, control, and ownership (Hallin & Mancini 2004:21-45).

Five other variables are also considered by Hallin & Mancini to have an influence on the media institutions’ structure: the relation of state and society; the distinction between consensus and majoritarian government; the distinction between organised pluralism or corporatism, and liberal pluralism; the development of rational-legal authority; and the distinction between moderate and polarised pluralism variables within different political systems (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 65). Hallin & Mancini point out that the borders between the three models are not definite; rather they are the basis for further deepening and development. Nonetheless, they consider the three models to be a useful tool for the classification of countries based on dominant tendencies in the political system and media structure which corresponds with the presence or absence of a set of interactive political and media-cultural criteria, both within and between states (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 6).

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<sup>7</sup> For more critical analyses and modifications to Siebert et al.’s model, see Nerone et al. 1995; Merrill (1974); Hachten 1993, 1999; Siebert 1992)

Characteristic for the Liberal Model are dominant market mechanisms and commercial media. The Democratic Corporatist Model is characterised by the fact that historically there has existed both commercial and partisan political media, and that the state has played a reasonably active, albeit legally regulated, role. The Polarised Pluralist Model is characterised by the way the media has been integrated into party politics, a weak historic development of commercial media, and a strong state role (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 11). Within each model there are some countries which are borderline cases, which do not fit that well into one model. For example, although France is included in the Polarised Pluralist Model along with the other Mediterranean countries, it has a higher degree of industrialisation and mass-circulation press than its neighbours, which makes it fall somewhere between the Polarised Pluralist and North European Democratic Corporatist model (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 90). Among the countries grouped within the Liberal Model, there are differences between the USA, a genuine example of the liberal system, and the UK, a country where the press is sharply divided between the quality and tabloid press, and where state conservatism, liberal corporatism, and social democracy have been stronger than within the USA (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 198).

Despite certain differences, Hallin & Mancini consider there to be enough similarities between the countries in each group, and enough differences between the groups, to justify their three-model system. When it comes to the question of convergence, they consider the distinctions between the various national media systems to be “Clearly diminishing” due to commercialisation (Hallin & Mancini 2004:294). Still, Hallin & Mancini conclude that differences among national political systems remain substantial and are likely to prevent complete homogenisation of media systems for the foreseeable future. (Hallin & Mancini 2004:295).

### 3.1.1 Norway and the Democratic, Corporatist Model

Hallin & Mancini group Norway into the Democratic Corporatist Model. Norway’s case is strongly represented in the analysis, and is described as one of the countries most representative of this model. Hallin & Mancini summarise three coexistences, looked at with variables which in other media systems are not found together, and which in light of the Liberal Model appear to be incompatible, but which have coexisted in the Democratic Corporatist countries throughout the twentieth century. Firstly, a high degree of political parallelism has coexisted with a strongly

developed mass-circulation press. Along with Japan, Norway, Finland and Sweden have the highest circulation rates in the world (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 144-145). The second coexistence is closely related to the first, and concerns how a high degree of political parallelism in the media has coexisted with a high degree of journalistic professionalism, which entails wide agreement upon professional standards of conduct, a notion of commitment to a common public interest, and a high level of autonomy from other social powers. The third coexistence has to do with the role of the state. Within the Democratic Corporatist countries, it is possible to antedate certain forms of self-government to earlier periods in history, and in most countries, liberal institutions were consolidated at an early point in time. There is therefore a strong tradition for limited state power, and one of the most important manifestations of this is the early introduction of press freedom. On the other hand, a strong welfare system and other forms for active government involvement developed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have resulted in the public sector having contributed an important involvement in the media sphere, which differentiates the Democratic Corporatist from the Liberal countries (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 145).

Journalists' unions were developed first in Scandinavia and Northern Europe, and such organisations are strong in these countries when compared to their counterparts in the Liberal and Polarised Pluralist countries. Norwegian journalists created a professional association as early as 1883, seven years before the Institute of Journalists in Britain (Hallin & Mancini 2004:171). The Democratic Corporatist countries can also be categorised by their having introduced systems for self regulation of the press, and the majority of the countries have a press council (Hallin & Mancini 2004:172). The Norwegian press council dates back to 1936. The high level of professionalism found in the Democratic Corporatist countries means that instrumentalisation of the media, a concern in the Polarised Pluralist countries, is not an issue in Northern and Central Europe (Hallin & Mancini 2004:175-176). The media is considered a social institution rather than a private enterprise, and the Democratic Corporatist countries are generally have ideologies about responsibility for welfare and inclusion of all citizens and groups. This is reflected in the media by a strong consensus that the state should play the role of guarantor of equal opportunities for all types of social groups, in pursuit of the "Common good" (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 196-197).

In Norway, the constitution guarantees freedom of the press, and many newspapers are subsidised by the Government in order to promote political pluralism (Freedom House 2002), but only on the condition that the editor is given complete editorial freedom (Humphreys 1996, cited

in Hallin and Mancini 2004: 175). The Editor's Code of Ethics ("Redaktørplakaten") gives the editor power to decide what is published, and allows him to exclude the owners from decisions regarding selection/control of content. This right has been recognised by the Norwegian courts (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 175). The "Use Caution" code ("Vær varsom-plakaten") is the ethical bill of practice used by the Norwegian press, adopted by the Norwegian Press Association. It emphasises freedom of speech and of information, and freedom of the press as fundamental elements in a democracy. The code defines the social responsibility and functions of the press: to stimulate debate and critical comment, to protect the principle of access to official documents, to carry information on what goes on in society, to uncover/disclose matters which ought to be subjected to criticism, and to protect individuals or groups against injustices or neglect, committed by public authorities and institutions, private concerns, or others (Allern 2001:10-11).

Since the beginning of the 1980s, Norwegian media institutions have phased out all links to political parties. Media companies have become corporate entities competing in the free market, where they are bought, sold, and merged, and new corporate owners require profits (Frønes & Kjølørød 2005: 418-419). Foreign capital has also been invested in Norwegian media, as local and regional limitations on ownership have been removed (Frønes & Kjølørød 2005:421-422). In 2001, Schibsted, Orkla (now Edda Media) and A-Pressen were the largest media conglomerates in Norway (Østbye 2000, 2001 cited in Frønes & Kjølørød 2005:421). Although concentration and group formation is small by international standards, the tendencies, such as cross-media ownership, and ownership spanning across the media branch and other industries, is the same. This could be interpreted as a convergence towards the Liberal Model, a convergence Hallin & Mancini among others consider as being connected to the decline in political parallelism and phasing out of partisan press in Europe (Moe & Sjøvaag 2008: 140).

### 3.1.2 The Australian press – a member of the Liberal Model?

Hallin & Mancini have only included Western Europe and North America in their study, Australia is not covered. The authors have, however, stated that they could probably have added Australia and New Zealand to their system, without changing the conceptual framework to any great extent, since these countries are closely historically and culturally linked to Western Europe (Hallin & Mancini 2004:7). Hallin emphasises that the model should be considered a starting point, and encourages its testing and development in other countries (Moe & Sjøvaag 2008: 132).



Jones & Pusey (2009) have taken this into account in their study of how the Australian media system fits into comparative political communication literatures. According to Jones & Pusey, Australian media politics, in contrast to many other democratic countries, has distanced itself from the normative goal of providing information (2009: 1). Australia has no bill of rights that guarantees freedom of expression<sup>8</sup>, but the independent, self-regulatory body The Australian Press Council (APC) monitors journalistic freedom and access to information, and deals with complaints and concerns from the public (ABC, 2007 [online]; APC [online]). According to Jones & Pusey, the conspicuous absence of a bill of rights has led to Australia becoming an “Unusual democracy” (2009: 1). The nation has on one side a strict voting system which compels all citizens to vote- resulting in the highest voter turnout in the world (IDEA 2002: 78, cited in Jones & Pusey 2009: 2). At the same time, however, it has become the norm that informed citizenship is completely absent from Australian media politics (Jones & Pusey 2009: 1-2).

Several restrictive laws have been passed in Australia in recent years in order to control the media. These include the Antiterrorism Act of 2005, the Telecommunications (Interception) Amendment Act of 2006 and the Communications Legislation Amendment (Crime or Terrorism Related Internet Content) of 2007 (Karlekar 2007:59). These laws have given federal police access to stored communications and the authority to censor websites (Freedom House, 2008). In 2005, two Australian journalists were convicted and fined AUS\$ 6,300 for refusing to disclose their source to a judge, and on two occasions in Sydney, federal police raided newspaper offices hunting for details of a source. An Inaugural Media report into the state of press freedom in Australia from September 11, 2001 – 2005, heavily criticises the Australian Government for making it “...Virtually impossible to report on ... Australian immigration centres, restricting access to centres and to the detainees themselves” (MEAA, 2005). According to Inaugural Media, the media have had to rely upon government sources in order to get any information at all about asylum seekers in these centres. The report contest that the high level of secrecy conflicts with the UNHCR’s international media policy, and is a threat for Australian democracy (MEAA, 2005). This concern was also raised by the APC in 2002, and as recently as 2008 Reporters

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<sup>8</sup> One exception is the state of Victoria, where press freedom is protected under the Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities (Freedom House 2008).

Without Borders expressed concern over the authorities' threats to remove state financing of the newspaper *The West Australian* unless the editor was fired (Freedom House, 2002; 2008). Although the Evidence Amendment (Journalists' Privilege) Bill from 2007 exempts journalists from having to disclose confidential sources, press freedom groups are still pressing for greater legal protection for journalists and whistle blowers. These groups have had limited ability to keep the Australian public informed about the actions and politics of its elected bodies and other public institutions because the Government has restricted the flow of information. In 2007, this led to the formation of a unified coalition of Australia's editors and broadcasters, which launched a national "Public Right to Know" campaign. (APC, 2007; Karlekar 2007: 59-60).

In addition to lacking a bill of rights, Australia has a high concentration of media ownership when compared to other Western countries, and was in a comparative study from 2004 placed as the country with the highest media ownership concentration of all comparable countries (Tiffen & Gittins 2004: 182, cited in Jones & Pusey 2009: 4). A predominance of the Australian newspapers are owned either by Rupert Murdoch's News Limited or Fairfax Media (Freedom House, 2008). A legal framework regulating cross-media ownership was not put in place until the end of the 1980s, something which has resulted in the quasi-folkloric expression "Media mates", first introduced by Paul Chadwick (Chadwick 1989, cited in Jones & Pusey 2009: 10).

Hallin & Mancini have suggested that Australia might have been included in their study as another example of the Liberal Model. Joney & Pusey however argue that when applying Hallin and Mancini's key indicators, Australia emerges with significant deviations from the best features<sup>9</sup> of this model (Jones & Pusey 2009: 8). They emphasise that Australia also has a surprisingly large number of features in common with the Polarised Pluralist model. In Australia, *clientalism* - instrumentalisation of both public and private media - is common, well-known and much tolerated (Jones & Pusey 2009: 9). In addition, Australia has a low level of investment per capita in public service broadcasting, low levels of education among journalists, and poor regulation of commercial broadcast journalism (Tiffen & Gittins 2004: 186, Weaver 2005: 47, cited in Jones & Pusey 2009: 9). The Australian Broadcasting Corporation, for instance, has

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<sup>9</sup> This alludes to Australian communications ministers, who have for years claimed that Australia has one of the best media systems in the world because it offers the 'Best of both worlds' - that is, both British-style public service broadcasting, and US-style networks (Jones & Pusey 2009: 5).

experienced a dramatic cut in its financing over the last years (Karlekar 2007: 59-60). Historically, journalism was professionalised late in Australia, and development of relevant bourgeois liberal institutional conventions and rational-legal authority, such as formal recognition of freedom of the press, was slow (Henningham, 1996, cited in Jones & Pusey 2009: 9).

While highlighting the similarities with the Polarised Political group, Jones and Pusey do not make a case for Australia's inclusion in that group, because Australia does not have key features such as a highly polarised political culture and a strong tradition of mass-circulation party newspapers. Rather, its sharing of so many features from the Polarised Political group makes it an outlier within the Liberal group, and much further from the norm than any of the Liberal countries Hallin and Mancini assess in detail in their study (Jones & Pusey 2009: 10). Although Australia's media system has taken institutional features from both the UK and the USA, according to most indices of comparability it has failed to institutionalise mediated political communication of the same standard as those nations. Rather than "The best of both worlds", there is in fact a high degree of polarisation of journalistic forms, media institutions and publics (Hoffman-Riem 1996, Hitchens 2006 cited in Jones & Pusey 2009: 11). Jones & Pusey conclude that "Australian mediated political communication is highly polarised and ill-served by current regulatory arrangements and media policy priorities" (Jones & Pusey 2009: 1).

### 3.2 News values

As I have demonstrated, media has close ties to socio-political, cultural, and economic conditions. Media products are not created, however, purely from macro-structural conditions. Day to day decision making by editorial staff also shapes media production. News journalism and news editing involve making specific evaluations case by case, and to what degree events are newsworthy may be assessed differently between editorial teams, as well as changing over time. Commercial media can be seen nevertheless to cover stories that fulfil certain news criteria.

An event has to fulfil certain criteria for *topicality*, *sensation*, *identification*, and *essentiality* in order for it to be considered newsworthy (Roksvold 1989: 22). Øvrebø & Østlyngen (1998) also propose that *conflict* is an important news criteria, while Njaastad (1999: 36 cited in Allern 2002: 55) argues that *proximity* is the most central criteria. He splits proximity into *time proximity*, *consequence proximity*, *cultural proximity*, and *emotional proximity*.

*Proximity* in time leads to an increased level of identification, but Roksvold (1989: 24) stresses that an older event can also have newsworthiness if the story was previously unknown.

One problem with studying which inherent qualities of an event make it newsworthy is that these fail to take into consideration the practical issues surrounding news production. Allern (2002: 59) focuses on the fact that factors such as ownership, advertisers, budgets, staffing, audience, work ethics, work routines, point in time, graphical presentation, and what is already in the news is also of importance for deciding which stories are covered, and emphasises that giving too much weight to the inherent criteria of newsworthiness has its limitations. The stories in the media come from a combination of editorial staff's own initiatives, and initiatives coming from others seeking exposure. News is a production of transactions between journalists and their sources- the more competently a source has prepared a journalistic case, and can offer it without cost to the editors, the more likely it will be prioritised as news. Also, the more the editorial policy is built on creating sensation to capture public interest, the greater becomes the chance of “media distortion”, where entertainment value counts more than criteria such as relevance, impartiality, and accuracy (Allern 2002: 66).

Two of the most important contributors towards theory development in the field of news values are Galtung and Ruge (1965). Their classic analysis of international crisis reporting in four Norwegian newspapers confirms certain basic news criteria that are consistently applied by all news organisations. According to Galtung and Ruge, these criteria do not vary much with political and cultural conditions. The criteria are summarised in eight fundamental hypotheses, and like Allern (2002 [2001]), they have considered both the inherent properties of the event and the practical issues to do with the news production.

The first criterion is *frequency*: events with a sudden start that coincide with the news organisation's schedule are more likely to be reported than events without a sudden start. Similarly, trends spanning longer time periods are not likely to receive much coverage. The next criterion is *threshold*: an event must have a certain volume or a certain level of heightened intensity in order to be reported. Criterion three is *unambiguity*: when the implications of any event do not require any complex background knowledge or understanding on the part of the audience, the case will be more newsworthy. The fourth criterion is *meaningfulness*: stories receive more coverage when the audience can identify with the topic. The fifth criterion is *consonance*, the media's readiness to report an item. The sixth criterion is *unexpectedness*:

unexpected events will be more likely to be reported than everyday occurrences. The next criterion is *continuity*. Once it has already been reported, a story will pick up momentum, partly because media resources are already on location to report the events, and partly because earlier reports help make the story more easily accessible to the reader. The final criterion is *composition*: stories compete for space with other stories that just happen to be occurring at the same time. An editor striving to find a balance of material may find that all the most newsworthy stories are of one type, for example foreign news, and so he must drop some of these stories to make way for some domestic news stories, even they are less newsworthy when looking at their intrinsic news value (Galtung & Ruge 1965: 65-71).

In addition, Galtung and Ruge list four culture-specific criteria imprinted in the western media's international news coverage. The first two criteria which will increase the chances of news coverage are if the event concerns *elite nations* or *elite people*. The third criterion, *personification*, concerns whether the event can be seen in personal terms, for example if events are caused by particular persons, then the likelihood of news coverage will increase. The last criterion is *negativity*, essentially that the more negative a story, the more likely it will be reported (Galtung & Ruge 1965: 68). The study is concluded by a principled review of the western media's news practices. Here, it is emphasised that what is needed is news reporting which does not limit itself to individual news incidents, but rather attaches more importance to long-term developments and carries reports about other concerns than just those directly connected to superpowers and elite politicians (Galtung & Ruge 1965 cited in Allern 2001: 6).

Another factor influencing which stories are considered newsworthy is media type. Newspapers can normally be split into two main types- quality papers and the tabloids. Bakke (1999: 248-252, cited in Allern 2002: 34-35) describes the characteristics of the tabloid as being sensationalism, and a focus on the individual, on violence, scandals, sex, and celebrities. Tabloid journalism tends to “reject the constraints of objective reporting, and to present the newspaper as speaking for the common citizen and ‘common sense,’ often mobilising a tone of outrage” (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 211). The quality papers are generally more informed and intellectual in their content. They tend to focus more on in-depth coverage of domestic and foreign news, and less on sensationalist and celebrity material. The language used and the format is also different in these two types of newspapers. Tabloids have a compact format, the tabloid size, and tend to use a simpler language, whereas quality newspapers have traditionally been published in broadsheet

format, having long, vertical pages, and are more likely to use long, complex sentences and many nominalisations (van Dijk 1988: 10-11). In tabloids, the historical background, cultural context, or economic cause behind events is often not detailed, because the event is disconnected from its context (Bakke 1999: 248-252 cited in Allern 2002: 35). Waldahl et al. (2002: 18) claim the news reported in tabloids is not linked to rationality, but appeals in a large part to feelings and pathos.

While the distinction between the tabloid papers and the quality papers is easily recognisable in countries such as the United Kingdom, it is more problematic to draw such a clear distinction in Norway. The only two national Norwegian tabloids both have a background as quality papers, and Allern (2002: 29) concludes that “The tradition from aggressive American and English popular journalism has been transformed into a more serious and ‘social democratic’ variant”. In addition, many newspapers previously printed in broadsheet format have recently switched to the tabloid size, while retaining their serious focus and the same layout. This serves to muddy even further the boundary between the two newspaper types. Although a majority of theorists fear that newspapers which have been considered quality papers, continually shift in the direction of the tabloids also in content, McNair (2000: 41) argues that tabloidisation may engage “Apathetic or allegedly apathetic or disinterested citizens from falling even further behind in the distribution of political information”. Høst (1991: 17-18 cited in Allern 2002: 31) sees the shift toward the tabloid format as modernisation towards a more user-friendly layout. He argues that the switch to tabloid format can give more effective communication, but underlines that the typical ‘tabloid aesthetic’ is not the goal; but rather a special case of the format.

The news values I have reviewed in this section will be revisited in the discourse analysis. Here, I point to prevalent news values in the chosen texts, and to which extent tabloid mechanisms are evident.

### **3.3 Nationalism, Conflicts and Enemy Images**

Part of this study’s aim is to examine whether nationalism within Australia and Norway contributed to the polarisation of the media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis. Østerud (1994: 28) defines nationalism as “A doctrine asserting that the national unit must be politically independent, that the nation’s and the state’s boundaries should coincide, and that the national community has an overriding requirement of loyalty.” Nationalism typically leads to a feeling of

loyalty directed at an “Abstract feeling of community”, and can be compared with religion and notions of metaphorical kinship (Eriksen 1998: 383-85, cited in Hyvik 2007: 14). Nationalism holds an emotional or existential element, which means that national values are regarded as paramount (Sørensen, 2001; Østerud (1994).

Nationalism has two content-related components, one political and one cultural, that both helps to distinguish “us from the others” (Sørensen 2001: 12 cited in Hyvik 2007: 13-14). This duality between forces of “good” and “evil” is known as ‘othering’ (Spivak, 1985). One's own positive identity is marked and maintained by stigmatising the opposing party. Regardless of whether this occurs through racial, geographic, ethnic, economic or ideological markers, there is always a danger that they will form the basis for a self-affirmation that is dependent on the denigration of the other group (University of Texas [online]). An identity is always relational and incomplete, depending on “... its difference from, its negation of, some other term, even as the identity of the latter term depends upon its difference from, its negation of, the former.” (Grossberg 1996: 89). When conflicting interests are involved, the dichotomy between us as the “good” and the others as the “bad” will be particularly apparent (van Dijk 1998:25). Although the *Tampa* crisis was not by any means a war, both Australian and Norwegian authorities were concerned with positioning themselves in relation to the other party, and with defining themselves as different through the use of othering and enemy images. A well known mechanism for creating enemy images is through propaganda, and in most wars and conflicts, a propaganda machine is started up (Ottosen 1994: 15). News journalism and propaganda have common features, for example, they are both one-dimensional and polarised along the axes of “good”/”evil” and “us”/”them” (Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2001: 177). Current propaganda is much more sophisticated than the “classic” propaganda found in totalitarian societies. This is a result of the existence of a high degree of media literacy in modern democracies, and propaganda must therefore be “consciously calculated on the premise of active appropriation by the target groups according to their specific political, cultural (etc.) conditions” (Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2001: 22).

Prime Minister John Howard was widely criticised for consciously creating propaganda about asylum seekers during the *Tampa* crisis, to dehumanise the asylum seekers and heighten Australia’s hostility towards them (Mackay, 2002). In contrast to the Australian Government, who portrayed the non-western, Muslim refugees as a threat, the Norwegian Government regarded Australia - a country that under normal circumstances it would be natural for Norway to

identify with to some extent – as the antagonist. A distinction can be drawn between *situational* and *dispositional* enemy images. The former is based on reality, for example the way a state actually conducts itself in any given situation, while the latter is an enemy image that has evolved over time and is based on the expectations we have, based on previous experience. Any positive surprises will be interpreted *situationally*, while any negative conduct will be interpreted *dispositionally* (Höjelid 1991:112, cited in Ottosen 1994: 84). If the Norwegian Government created an enemy image of Australia, this can thus be said to have been *situational*, as it has not persisted, while Australia's othering of the refugees was based on an already established enemy image, and thus can be said to be *dispositional* (Manning 2004).

### 3.3.1 The Norwegian virtue regime

Among Norwegians, the nationalistic *myth* of Norway is closely linked to what Tvedt has defined as *the Norwegian Virtue Regime* (Tvedt 2003: 34). Being the seventh largest financial contributor to the UN in absolute figures, and the top contributor in almost all relevant UN contexts per capita (Støre, 2006), it is fair to say that Norway, although a small country, is a big contributor toward international foreign aid. The uttermost symbol of Norway as a peace campaigner is perhaps the Nobel Peace Prize, which is annually awarded in Oslo. In addition, Norway has traditionally been involved in peace negotiations. Among the most well known initiatives towards peace were the Oslo Treaty between Palestine and Israel in the 1990s. While ultimately proving to be a failure, the treaty nonetheless put Norway on the map as a peace campaigner. The most common reason given for the Norwegian peace initiatives is that there exists a tradition for them. Narratives about Norway often talk about peace initiatives, and rather than military traditions and self will, it is the strong anchoring in social democratic values and Christian charity that has led to the flourishing of a host of NGOs which have enthusiastically played a decisive role for Norway's involvement in peace work (Leira et al., 2007).

Tvedt (2003: 12) heavily criticises the way Norway's peace work is 'branded'. He argues that the *Norwegian Virtue Regime* is insulated from criticism, and has had a "Unique legitimacy" in Norway. Tvedt views it as problematic how a national system of idolisation of the Norwegian 'peacemaker' image has been allowed to develop underneath the protective wings of the *Virtue Regime* (Tvedt 2003: 313). Østerud has made similar criticism of Norway's role as a foreign aid nation, and calls it a "System for internal use" (Østerud 2006, cited in Leira 2007). Leira (2007)



argues that Norwegians have a tendency to overvalue Norway's role as a catalyst and negotiator for peace, and the extent to which Norway is seen internationally as a peacekeeping nation. From a pragmatic stand, he nonetheless believes it can be politically expedient of Norway to regard itself as a peacekeeping nation as long as this results in the country feeling an extra obligation to reduce international tensions.

John Howard's stand-off in the *Tampa* crisis stood in bold contrast to the Norwegian image as peacemaker discussed above, and it is reasonable to presume that the Norwegian 'political correctness' made it even harder to accept the tough stance taken by the Australian authorities. As Norway broadcasts its peace nation role both internally and externally toward the international community, landing squarely in the middle of a conflict rather than negotiating from the sidelines was also an unusual situation for the country to suddenly fall into. Captain Rinnan was threatened by the Australian authorities, despite the fact that his actions in saving the shipwrecked displayed exactly the stereotypical characteristics that Norwegians consider themselves as having. This must undeniably have been perceived as a strong attack not just on a Norwegian ship, but also on the very idea of the 'Norwegian Samaritan' (Tvedt 1995: 17; 2003: 22).

## **4 Research design**

The first section of this chapter accounts for my data selection. The methodology I decided to employ is then presented, and I account for how the quantitative content analysis and the discourse analysis were conducted. The methodological challenges I encountered, both in regard to general strengths and weaknesses in the methodology applied, and methodological issues that only concern this case study, are also discussed in this chapter.

### **4.1 Data selection**

A wide selection of media should ideally be analysed in order to give a comprehensive picture of how the *Tampa* crisis was covered by the Norwegian and Australian media. When first planning this project, I intended to analyse both TV coverage and newspapers. It did not, however, take long to realise that the coverage of the *Tampa* affair had been so extensive that it would be too large a task to analyse more than a couple of media from each country. In addition, it proved

impossible to get hold of the relevant material from the commercial Australian TV channels. I gave up on the idea of analysing TV news, and decided to make newspapers my unit of analysis.

#### 4.1.1 Newspapers

My choice consists of two Norwegian and two Australian newspapers. In order to get a broad spectrum of content while keeping the material easily comparable, newspapers of equal size but with different political values and commercial owner constellations were chosen. After studying owner structures and the profile of several large media groups in Norway and Australia, I decided to analyse two Australian newspapers; the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and two Norwegian papers, *Aftenposten* and *Dagbladet*.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* is owned by one of Australia's largest media conglomerates, Fairfax Media Limited<sup>10</sup>. The paper is Australia's oldest, first published in 1831. The *SMH* is considered a liberal<sup>11</sup> quality broadsheet that devotes considerable attention to national and international issues, and the paper has high advertising revenues due to a reader group consisting of the well educated, professionals and middle to upper income-earners (Kelly 2002: 21). It had a reprint of 221 571 copies on weekdays and 393 746 copies on Saturdays when the *Tampa* crisis took place in August/September 2001, making it the second biggest daily newspaper in Sydney after its main competitor, *The Daily Telegraph* (Fairfax December 2001 circulation release).

*The Daily Telegraph* was founded in 1879. It is the biggest newspaper in Sydney, and had a circulation of 417 500 copies on weekdays in September 2001. The Sunday edition, *The Sunday Telegraph*, had a circulation of 721 000 copies during the same period (Ibid). "*The Tele*" is a politically conservative, tabloid newspaper, published by News Limited, which is owned by one of the world's biggest media magnets, Rupert Murdoch. The holding company for News Limited, News Corporation, is the third largest media conglomerate in the world (Fortune magazine: 2009). In a 2004 survey, Australian journalists rated News Limited publications as the most partisan newspapers in Australia (Roy Morgan Research, 2004).

Oslo-based newspaper *Aftenposten* is owned by the Scandinavian media group Schibsted ASA, and was first published in 1860. It is the biggest national subscription newspaper in Norway, and the second biggest newspaper overall. In 2001, the reprint was 229 858 copies

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<sup>10</sup> John Fairfax Holdings until 2007

<sup>11</sup> Liberal is in this context seen as opposed to conservative

(Høst, 2002). At the time of the *Tampa* crisis, *Aftenposten* was a broadsheet, and although it changed to a tabloid format in 2005, it is still not considered a tabloid beyond the physical size of the paper. *Aftenposten* was originally the Norwegian Conservative party's mouthpiece, and is still considered as a conservative paper, although no longer partisan. In common with the *SMH*, *Aftenposten* has an attractive reader base when it comes to advertising revenues (Schibsted 2008).

*Dagbladet* was founded in 1869, and was in 2001 owned by the independent publisher AS Avishuset Dagbladet<sup>12</sup>. The newspaper was originally affiliated with the Liberal Party, and although it has been politically independent since 1977, it is still considered liberal. *Dagbladet* is the third biggest newspaper in Norway, published in Oslo with a reprint of 154 461 copies in 2001 (Høst, 2002). The paper has been a tabloid since 1983, but is nonetheless still considered a relatively serious paper. *Dagbladet* has through its dealing with literature and art traditionally been a central figure in cultural circles, among other things as a champion of radical cultural trends (Store Norske Encyclopedia).

#### 4.1.2 Time frame

The *Tampa* crisis lasted from Sunday 26 August 2001 to Tuesday 4 September 2001, when the refugees left the ship and the *Tampa* moved on to Singapore. As there was no newspaper coverage of the *Tampa* crisis on the day the ship picked up the refugees, I chose Monday the 27<sup>th</sup> of August as the first day in my selection. In order to get a picture of the news coverage of the *Tampa* crisis not only while the dispute lasted, but also in the aftermath, I extended the analysis period to cover some days after the conflict was resolved. I covered up to Thursday the 6<sup>th</sup> of September, a total of 11 days. While it might have proved interesting to extend the study period even further, the terrorist attacks of 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 in practice dominated the news picture from that point onwards. In Norway, the *Tampa* coverage also had to compete with the coverage of the general election on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September.

To get an overview of how the media coverage evolved in step with the events, I chose to divide the *Tampa* crisis in four phases: "The Prelude", "The Escalation", "Towards a Solution" and "The Aftermath". "The Prelude" covers the period from the 27<sup>th</sup> to the 29<sup>th</sup> of August, that is, from the first day that the event received media coverage as an ordinary rescue at sea, to when the event first became a diplomatic conflict between Norway and Australia. "The Escalation" covers

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<sup>12</sup> AS Avishuset Dagbladet changed name to Berner Gruppen AS in 2007.

the 30<sup>th</sup> and the 31<sup>st</sup> of August. Here the conflict escalated as Captain Rinnan defied the Australian authorities and entered into Australian waters, and Australia responded by sending elite military troops to board the *Tampa*. “Towards a Solution” is the period from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> of September. During this period the diplomatic negotiations began in earnest, resulting in Australia launching the “Pacific solution”, and the *Tampa* sailing onward toward Singapore. “The Aftermath” covers the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> of September. In this phase, the refugees were en-route to Papua New Guinea, from where it was planned that they would be moved to New Zealand and Nauru respectively. At the same time, it was still unclear whether the Australian Government had the legal right to refuse the refugees disembarkation on Christmas Island.

#### 4.1.3 Selection of coding units

Once which media and which time period to cover had been decided, the next stage was to obtain copies of the newspapers and select all news stories covering the *Tampa* crisis. It proved to be relatively easy to pick out pieces from the Norwegian newspapers, but less so for their Australian counterparts, due to a grey zone of articles that may or may not have been relevant to the research. The Australian media turned the case into a wider debate about -and increased the focus upon- issues such as how many asylum seekers should be taken in, how borders could better be guarded against illegal immigrants, the wretched conditions in refugee detention centres, and last but not least, relations with neighbouring Indonesia, where human smuggling is big business.

I chose to include news about refugees if they were from Afghanistan, the country from which the shipwrecked aboard the *Tampa* had fled, and when it was clear from the context that the piece was part of the ongoing debate actuated by the *Tampa* crisis. I ruled out news stories dealing exclusively with conditions in Australian refugee detention camps, or articles about other boats that had arrived earlier, unless the *Tampa* was explicitly mentioned. Articles that only served to advertise for fuller versions of the same article were also excluded, since these did not have their own content. This was most prevalent in the *SMH*, where the column “Ten Minute Herald” on the back page consisted of several short résumés of the content inside the paper.

## 4.2 Methodologies

Media studies is a relatively young and heterogeneous discipline, which to a great extent has inherited methods from other, more established fields (Larsen & Hausken 1999: 67-69). These methodological approaches can be broadly divided into two main types; quantitative and qualitative methods. My study employs both approaches through a combination of methods, so-called triangulation. By compensating for the weaknesses of the individual methods used, triangulation gives a greater insight than if the methods had been used in isolation (Holme & Solvang 1996: 75-79; Hjarvard, 1997). Several methodological perspectives and “thick descriptions” also normally strengthen the study’s validity (Bruhn Jensen 2002: 272; Geertz 1973; Hansen et al. 1998: 1).

### 4.2.1 A quantitative Approach

Østbye et al. (2002: 215) define quantitative content analysis as “Data registration and analysis techniques which seek a systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the contents of a message”. There can be many different goals when conducting a quantitative analysis, but a common trait of all quantitative analysis is that the data is presented using statistics (Bergström & Boréus 2000: 45). By mapping structures or patterns through a systematic treatment of the material, which can then be quantified, it is possible to measure the occurrence of certain characteristics and elements in a text: for example, size, genre, inclination/bias, and use of sources. (Bergström & Boréus 2000: 45). The analysis can also be used to see changes over time, for example attitudes to a phenomenon or topic. To carry out a quantitative content analysis, the material must be organised into units, variables and values. It must be decided which units are to be used, what the scope and timeframe should be, and whether all the units should be used or just a selection. In addition, it must be decided how many, and which, properties in the material should be mapped, and how the mapping should be done (Hansen et al. 1998: 2; Østbye et al. 2002: 219). Hypotheses and problems make the backdrop for the decisions which are made in advance of the quantitative analysis, and the relationship to the research material is characterised by distance and selectivity. When the various properties are defined in the code book, it creates a definition-wise validity, and a consistent coherence between the theories which are used and the study which is carried out.

In the 1950s, many social scientists worked towards making their methods more objective, more scientific. One of those who strove to make content analysis more objective and elevate it from conjecture was Bernard Berelson, who defined content analysis as “A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson 1952: 18). Berelson thought that the researcher should refrain from interpreting the message, and concentrate solely on coding the actual content. Quantitative methods have been criticised precisely because of this positivist outlook on the researcher’s objectivity. The critics claim that Berelson’s criteria for quantitative content analysis are problematic, since he reduces the method to concentrating purely on the explicit meaning, thereby overlooking the implicit meaning. Texts are often complex and polysemantic, and many important aspects, such as for example the overall impression and the implicit meaning, will not be picked up when exclusively using Berelson’s definition of quantitative content analysis (Hansen et al. 1998: 94-95). Østbye et al. (2002: 218) argue that quantitative content analysis can also include interpretation of implicit meanings in the text, even though Berelson’s focus on systematics, objectivity, and explicit meaning is retained. According to Hansen (1998), this criticism of positivist ‘objectivity’ criteria has become mainstream, and later definitions of content analysis have left out references to ‘objectivity’ and stressed that the analysis should be ‘systematic’ or ‘replicable’ (Hansen et al. 1998: 95).

#### **4.2.1.1 Methodological Challenges**

Although quantitative analyses strive to be objective, they generally involve the interpretation of texts, and contain therefore a subjective element which makes it sometimes difficult to completely fulfil the requirement of high validity, making it difficult for other researchers to use the same coding mechanism to analyse data the same way as those who originally carried out the study. Despite this, quantitative methods are considered to have high reliability, as long as a detailed codebook with well defined demarcations is used as a basis, and consistently followed.

In my quantitative study, one of the greatest challenges was uneven distribution of material between the Norwegian and Australian newspapers. The coverage in the Australian papers was over double the size of the Norwegian coverage. In order to compare the findings across the four newspapers despite this discrepancy in amount of coverage, the data in the figures relating to the quantitative analysis was converted to percentages.

Certain variables in the analysis had very few occurrences in the Norwegian newspapers, and may weaken both the internal validity -the validity the empirical discoveries have for the sample and the phenomenon they demonstrate-, and the external validity –to which degree the results can be transferred to other samples and situations. On the days with little analysis material, I was therefore cautious in drawing conclusions about the representativeness of these data. The internal validity in the study is nonetheless high, since the dataset analysed is quite extensive, but it would be unwise to generalise about the *Tampa* crisis' coverage in those cases when there are few of a variable recorded. To generalise about how the *Tampa* crisis was covered in the Norwegian and Australian media overall, based on a thesis examining only four newspapers, would be problematic, due to the fact that such a generalisation would require both a large volume of coverage and a wide range of objects of analysis (Østbye et al. 2002: 41). Case studies are, however, generalisable to theoretical propositions. According to Yin, the aim of the researcher is to expand and generalise theories rather than enumerate frequencies (Yin 1994: 10).

Generalisation concerns in other words not just idiographic research- obtaining a deeper understanding of individual phenomena- it is also about developing theories which can later be tested on other types of dataset, and therefore be verified or weakened, what is known as nomothetic research (Østbye et al. 2002: 240).

#### 4.2.2 The quantitative Content Analysis

In order to obtain a structured overview of the whole *Tampa*-coverage in the four newspapers, every unit in my selection was coded into a range of variables. A clear distinction was made between editorial content and reader contribution because the latter does not reflect the newspaper's opinion, even though it may say a lot about the opinions of the newspaper's readers. Another important factor concerning reader-generated content was that its amount varied considerably from newspaper to newspaper, to such an extent that if letters to the editor had been considered together with editorial content, they would have constituted a large part of the analysis material in some papers, and an almost negligible amount in others. Non-editorial content was therefore coded separately with only the variables 'newspaper'; 'date'; 'front page'; and 'genre'. Editorial content was coded with the variables 'newspaper'; 'date'; 'front page'; 'genre'; 'illustrations'; 'amount'; 'type of source'; 'size', and 'inclination'.

#### 4.2.2.1 News genres

All the selected pieces in the papers were categorised into a total of 12 genres: articles; paragraphs; feature articles; op-ed; commentaries; editorials; columns; news interviews; portrait interviews; letters to the editor; caricatures/cartoons; and information boxes or opinion polls. These are accounted for in the code book (Appendix 2).

I define *article* as a general news report. It can contain interview, but cannot be comprised solely of interviews (especially with either one, or very few, sources) - in that case it would be classified as an interview. A *paragraph* is a short news story supplied by a wire service, or without a byline. A *feature article* is a longer article which builds on proximity and observation, where impressions and observations from the location are used as part of the text. *Op-ed* is an opinionative piece, written by someone other than a journalist in the newspaper, who takes the role of an expert, social commentator etc., rather than that of a private individual. A *commentary* is an opinionative piece written either by editorial staff or a freelance journalist associated with the paper. In contrast to editorials, commentaries always have a byline. A *column* (or a *petit*) is a short, humorous comment from editorial staff. The genre is characterised by somewhat exaggerated opinions, and a personal, informal tone. Columns are often a regular feature, written by the same person. In a *news interview* the entire piece is based upon statements/comments from one -or very few- sources, and the purpose of the piece is to establish the facts of the case. When the whole news text is based on statements/comments from a single source, and the purpose of the piece is to learn more about the interviewee, I classify it as a *portrait interview*. *Letters to the editor* are short, opinionative letters, e-mails, or faxes to the editorial staff from a reader. The news genres listed above were further classified into one of three groups: *news content*, *letters to the editor* and *opinionative content*. *Op-eds* were included in the latter category because they differ from ordinary reader contribution by being mixed in with editorial opinionative content. *Op-eds* were, however, not considered editorial content per se.

#### 4.2.2.2 Use of Sources

Each unit was coded using the following variables: total sources, type of source, plus name and profession/position if available. The sources were first divided into 28 different categories. This high level of granulation allowed these categories to be merged after the coding to give more usable categories. While it is possible to aggregate data from a higher level of granulation to a



lower one after the coding is completed, the reverse is not possible (Østbye et al. 2002: 221). This coding was laborious work, but resulted in very flexible data.

#### **4.2.2.3 Size**

Each piece was measured in order to gain an insight into how much physical space was devoted to the crisis. I chose cm<sup>2</sup> as my unit of measure rather than column centimetre, since the width of each column varies from paper to paper, and measuring the units in column centimetre would have disabled me from comparing the size of coverage in the four papers.

#### **4.2.2.4 Illustrations and front covers**

I counted the number of front-page stories. In addition, the number of illustrations in each piece was coded. Images, tables, facsimiles, drawings and map segments were all considered illustrations. Some of the letters to the editor in the Australian newspapers had small illustrations, but these were excluded from the coding, since my focus was upon the editorial content.

#### **4.2.2.5 Inclination**

In order to measure how critical the various newspapers were of the Australian Government's handling of the affair, all items were coded as either positive, neutral, or negative, regarding whether they supported the Australian authorities' stand-off or not. Articles where the Australian handling of the *Tampa*-crisis was not a topic were coded as "not a topic". For a story to fall under the category "negative" it had to use clearly negative terminology in the text. When the headline had a clearly negative bias, the article was coded as negative, even though the article itself was more balanced. "Positive" articles were those where Australian policy towards the *Tampa* was reported positively, but also included those articles that let the Howard administration and its supporters express their views without being called to question, since these articles acted as a soap box for the authorities. Absence of criticism did, however, not guarantee that the article would be coded as positive in every case. When the article reported the affair without criticism of either the Norwegian or the Australian side, or when there existed a balance between how much the various parties to the case could express their views, the article was coded as "neutral".

#### 4.2.3 A qualitative approach – Discourse Analysis

In addition to the quantitative content analysis, I conducted a discourse analysis on a smaller subset of my research material. Discourse analysis is a qualitative method, and in contrast to quantitative methods, which aim is to map structures and patterns in a larger body of research material by transforming the research material into countable units, qualitative methods intercept subtle aspects of the structure of arguments and narratives (Priest 1996: 108). A deeper analysis of smaller units like words and sentences, so-called close reading, can be a productive method for finding a text's underlying meaning, but the method of procedure must be determined by the characteristics of the text to be analysed (Priest 1996: 171; Østbye et al. 2002: 68).

In sociology-oriented areas, discourse is mainly studied in relation to the social contexts of the language, while the field of linguistics focuses on discourse as language and language use. The last decade has, however, seen steps towards a constructive fusion of the two traditions (Garret & Bell 1998: 2). Norman Fairclough, a proponent of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), believes discourse analysis should shed light upon both the text itself, and the discourse that the text belongs to (Fairclough 1998: 143). Bourdieu goes further, stating that an analysis of political discourse and ideologies by focusing on utterances, without further reference to the make-up of the political field and the relations between the field and the broader space of social positions and processes, is superficial (Fairclough 1998: 142).

##### 4.2.3.1 Laclau & Mouffe's conceptual frame

Discourse analysis is based on discourse theory, a branch of social constructionism which considers meaning as more or less socially constructed through language (Philips & Jørgensen 2002: 6). Within discourse theory there exist schools which have set an ontological division between semiotics and reality, and schools that entirely discard any such division between reality and representations of reality. Cruickshank (2007) calls these two schools “light” and “heavy” constructivism. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis is an example of light constructivism. By drawing a distinction between discourse and other social practice, Fairclough supposes that when studying an event, discourse analysis must be linked to other types of theories which attempt to understand or explain the social system and social processes (Fairclough 1995: 96).

Although CDA has arguably become the standard framework for media discourse research since the 1980s (Garrett and Bell 1998: 6), my discourse analysis is based on the

Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) offered by political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985), along with other theorists'<sup>13</sup> modification and development of this discourse analytical approach. Their approach to discourse belongs to the school which Cruickshank (2007) calls “heavy constructivism”. In contrast to the light constructivists, they see discourse as being constitutive of the whole social field, whether that be objects, language, or actions (Cruickshank 2007; Laclau & Mouffe 2002:56; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 33). Laclau & Mouffe’s approach is macro-contextual, with a broadly defined concept of text. The focus of the analysis is rather the meaning and representation embedded in the text than the language (Carpentier & Spinoy 2008:5).

Laclau & Mouffe define discourse as “A structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed” (Laclau 1988: 254). Their discourse theory assumes that the meaning of words or symbols is not fixed, but rather in constant movement in relation to each other. Before they are articulated in a discourse, they are empty *elements* that may be given various meanings depending on their context and relationship to one another (Laclau & Mouffe 2002: 52). Discourse appears when an element’s meaning becomes fixed, and the signifier loses its polysemantic nature and gets locked to one meaning. This process is called *articulation*, and leads to the element’s character being defined, and its meaning being determined (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 26; Laclau & Mouffe 2002: 23).

The discourse attempts to define the meaning of its elements by excluding alternative and rival attributes of meaning. When there takes place a locking of an element in a discourse, it then becomes a *moment* (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 105; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 26, Åkerstrøm 2003: 54). A discourse never completely succeeds in removing all duality of meaning by converting elements to moments, because the alternative meaning the discourse excludes will always threaten to destabilise the unambiguity (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 110). Every expression makes an active reduction of the meaning’s possibilities because it puts the expressions in a specific relationship with one another ahead of the others.

*Nodal points* is a term Laclau & Mouffe use to describe privileged signifiers which the other moments are organised around and derive their meaning in relation to (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 26). Nodal points are -in common with elements- initially empty, and are dependent upon

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<sup>13</sup> Carpentier & Spinoy 2008; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002.

being used in a particular discourse to give meaning (Philips & Jørgensen 2002: 28). *Floating signifiers* are elements which to an especially large degree are open for various interpretations, and which the various different discourses try to define (Laclau 1990: 28; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 28). An example in my study is the term *refugee*, a floating signifier to which the various discourses all attempt to attribute meaning. A situation where various parties or interest groups become involved in a discursive conflict about the term's meaning is called an *antagonism*. When an antagonism occurs, everything that has been discluded from an individual discourse threatens to undermine the discourse's existence and fixity of meaning (Laclau 1990: 17, cited in Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 47-48). 'The field of discursivity' refers to all other possible meaning that could potentially be attributed the elements of a discourse (Laclau & Mouffe 2002: 61; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 27).

According to Laclau & Mouffe, some of the discursive fixation of meaning is so conventionalised that we experience it is natural, even though these elements were once given meaning through the process of articulation. Laclau & Mouffe call this *hegemony* (Philips & Jørgensen 2002: 48). They have borrowed this concept from Gramsci (1999: 261), who defines hegemony as "The formation of consent". In Laclau & Mouffe's further development of the concept, the exercise of hegemonic practices is defined as "An exemplary form of political articulation which involves linking together different identities into a common project" (Howarth 1998: 279, cited in Carpentier & Spinoy 2008: 9). If the hegemonic discourses that are present in a society are to be maintained, they must be constantly represented in order to keep up the discursive status quo and stabilise the prevailing hegemony. Discursive conflicts and political battles are therefore generally suppressed, removed, or objectified within the hegemonic state, but new hegemonic representations will develop if alternative discourses are confirmed and new understanding is established inside the discursive formations (Neumann 2001: 169).

Apart from a few exceptions<sup>14</sup>, DTA has been considered a social constructionist theory that applies to political theory. Carpentier & Spinoy (2008) have advocated that DTA should be considered as a key approach to the study of cultural phenomena, and question why it has not been able to extend its scope from political philosophy to the study of culture (Carpentier &

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<sup>14</sup> E.g. Carpentier 2008; Harris 1992; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002; Serban 2008; Torfing 1999.

Spinoy 2008: 1-3). In *Discourse Theory and Cultural Analysis* (2008), Carpentier & Spinoy therefore compile a range of studies that use Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory in various analyses of media, literature and other artistic disciplines. The book is an important contribution towards promoting discourse theory as a useful qualitative analysis tool in studies of how the hegemonic struggle to ascribe phenomena meaning is battled out in the media. The view that Laclau & Mouffe's school of discourse theory is especially well suited for analysing conflicts, is also supported by Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 50: 51).

#### **4.2.3.2 Methodological challenges**

The criticism perhaps most often raised against purely qualitative research is exactly the aspect of subjectivity: the free reign given to the researcher's own interpretation (Priest 1996: 108-111). The researcher is not considered to be objective, so one of the pre-requisites for the validity and reliability of quantitative analyses is that the researcher has a cognitive comprehension of his or her subjectivity, method, and area of research (Silverman 2001). Criticism of discourse analysis as a method often concerns the lack of agreement on definitions of both discourse and text across different disciplines (Garret & Bell 1998: 2). Some definitions of the term discourse are so abstract that it is difficult to create empirical procedures for the feasible study of discourses (Jaworski & Coupland 1999: 135). Qualitative analysis nonetheless brings the researcher closer in to the core of the theoretic concepts, and therefore scores highly for definition-wise validity: how suitable the method is for picking up the concepts we have accounted for on a theoretical level in our collection and analysis of empirical data (Østbye et al. 2002: 39-40).

Another weakness with quantitative methods is that it is resource-intensive work to research in such depth, so it is only practically possible to research a relatively small number of pieces compared to the amount of data that can be analysed with a comparable workload in a quantitative study. This is something I have taken into consideration, insofar as I have employed both quantitative and qualitative methods, so-called triangulation (Holme & Solvang 1996: 75-79). The use of a combination of methods and theories can compensate for the weakness of the individual methods used. If the analysis has been thoroughly carried out and the results of the various methods point in the same direction, then this strengthens the study's validity. In contrast, if several methods individually score low for validity, or the results of the different methods spread in different directions, this will weaken the overall validity (Østbye et al. 2002: 39, 122).

I have chosen not to focus on visual effects and composition in the discourse analysis, for both practical and more methodological reasons. I only had access to original copies of one of the four newspapers. The rest of the newspapers I copied from microfilm, so image quality was very poor. Another reason why I chose to not focus on images was that the supply of images to the media during the crisis was limited. A few images of the *Tampa* and the refugees taken by the crew were used by all four papers, as these were the only images available. The newspapers also had a picture of Captain Rinnan which was used repeatedly. Other images used were pictures of Australian commandos, the inhabitants of Christmas Island, and images of Australian and Norwegian politicians, but I could not see any noticeable difference in the use of imagery across the four newspapers. Discourse theoretical analysis is a branch of discourse analysis which is primarily concerned with the text's meaning, and is less geared towards analysis of either linguistics or imagery, so my choice to not focus on image use is thus in line with the methodology I employ.

The biggest challenge in this thesis has been to try to conduct an equally in-depth analysis of texts written in two languages from two separate countries. The discourses in my Norwegian pieces have been easier to analyse, as Norwegian is my mother tongue, and my cultural and political proximity to Norway means it is easier for me to read between the lines and pick up subtleties in the Norwegian texts. To compensate for this, I conducted a lot of research into the Australian political and cultural context, a summary of which is provided in chapter 2.1 (the background of the *Tampa*-crisis) and chapter 3.1.2 (an account of the Australian Media System). By having to translate the Norwegian texts into English when the texts are cited in the thesis, there is also always a chance that some of the meaning will be lost in translation. Unfortunately, when conducting a comparative case study singlehandedly, these methodological problems are in many cases unavoidable, and the only solution is to be as thorough as possible, which I have made every effort to be.

#### 4.2.4 Implementation of the Discourse Theoretical Analysis

The majority of the analytical concepts I employed in my discourse analysis were borrowed from Laclau & Mouffe's discourse theoretical analysis (DTA). In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985), they offer a complete social constructivist ontology that regards discourse as constitutive of all social practice. Combining Laclau & Mouffe's theoretical approach with positivist

perspectives such as Hallin & Mancini's three models is problematic (Phillips & Jørgensen & 2002: 116), but their toolbox of concepts can be utilised as an analysis strategy.

The discourse analysis was carried out on eight pieces from each of the four newspapers. The choice of pieces was made after all the data had been collected and the main findings of the quantitative content analysis had been reached. It was advantageous to locate both the typical and the atypical discourses of each newspaper, and I attempted to analyse both opinionative texts such as editorials and commentaries, and more regular news reports.

I undertook a close reading of the texts with the aim of investigating the *articulatory practices* that link *empty signifiers* to other *elements* in order to fix their meaning to one specific discourse. I detected how *nodal points* and *myths* are constructed and stabilised in each text by either the author or the sources, and investigated possible antagonistic struggles between different parties and interest groups to define *floating signifiers*.

I then examined whether elementary dichotomies such as good-evil, just-unjust, innocent-guilty, rational-irrational, civilized-barbaric, organised-chaotic etc. are used to differentiate between "us" and "the others", thereby creating enemy images. I also examined how dichotomies such as necessary-unnecessary, last resort-provocative, unavoidable-avoidable, and so forth were used to defend the measures taken by one of the sides in the conflict. I described and named the discourses that were present in the text, and placed them in relation to one another in various orders of discourse. After all the texts were analysed, I summarised the findings and concluded whether any discourses appeared to be more dominant than others, thus holding a hegemonic position in the current text, newspaper or maybe even culture. In addition to examining discourses, I examined which news values discussed in chapter 3.2 were most visible in each text, and whether or to what extent tabloid mechanisms were present.

Since Laclau & Mouffe have primarily conducted theory and concept development, and only to a limited extent made detailed analyses of empirical material, it was necessary to supplement this approach with a few concepts from other discourse analytical approaches. One such concept is 'order of discourse', a social space, where different discourses partially cover the same terrain, which they in their own ways strive to give meaning to (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 72). The concept was originally conceived by Foucault (1981), but has also been used in critical discourse analysis, although in a somewhat modified version (Fairclough 2003: 227). In line with Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 55), I considered it useful to include order of discourse as an

intermediate level between the discourse and what Laclau & Mouffe call ‘the field of discursivity’ (Laclau & Mouffe 2002: 61; Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 27). Another concept I borrowed from CDA is ‘interdiscursivity’, which describes a discourse that draws on or incorporates other discourses (Fairclough 1993: 137). It is in line with discourse analysis and the qualitative research tradition that the research design of each particular project is tailor made to fit the project’s character (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002).

## **5 Quantitative content analysis**

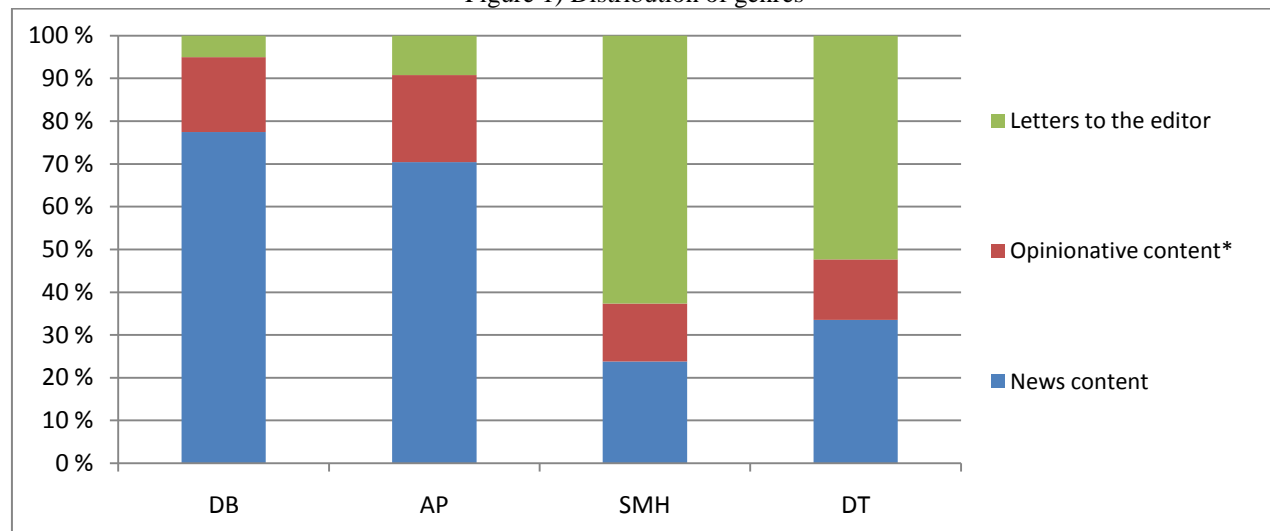
This is the first of two analysis chapters, and presents the results from the quantitative content analysis. A detailed presentation of the quantitative content analysis, shown as figures or tables with accompanying annotations and text is followed by a summary of the main findings. In the four newspapers, a total of 1,065 articles were printed during the eleven days of the study. Of these, an overwhelming majority were Australian: 971 compared to only 94 Norwegian.

### **5.1 Quantity and dispersion of the whole coverage**

The spread of genres for each newspaper shows that there was a predominance of letters to the editor in the Australian newspapers, while articles were the dominant genre in the Norwegian papers. Debate raged in Australia, meaning that the Australian papers had a considerably larger amount of opinionative content when compared to the Norwegian. The *Sydney Morning Herald* printed 208 letters to the editor during the period, and these comprised 63% of their total coverage. *The Daily Telegraph* printed 125 letters, comprising 52% of their coverage.



Figure 1) Distribution of genres



\* Opinionative content consists of op-eds, commentaries, editorials, columns/petit and caricatures

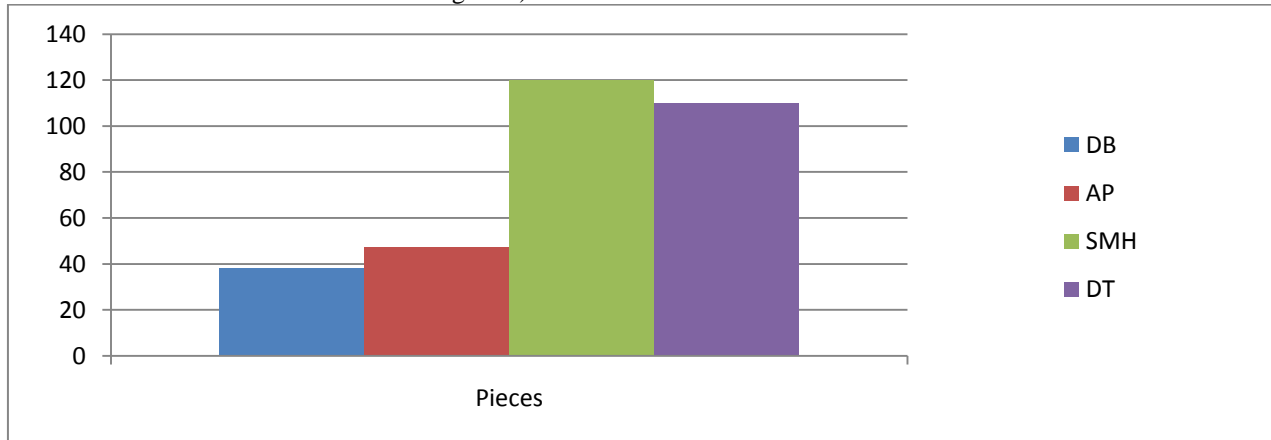
The *Tampa* crisis also received extensive coverage on the newspapers' front pages, particularly in the broadsheet newspapers (Table 1.2). *Aftenposten* and the *SMH* both had the issue on its cover in 82% of the editions where the story was covered. *The Daily Telegraph* and *Dagbladet* had a lower percentage, with 45% in *Dagbladet* and 67% in *the Tele*. This seems to have two explanations. Firstly, there is not room for as many front page references in tabloid format compared with broadsheet format, a factor which forces the tabloid newspapers to make a smaller selection of front page stories. Secondly, the tabloid newspapers are typically more interested in sensation, and it can be seen that as the case went from being a dramatic conflict to more of a legal matter, the newsworthiness faded, when looked at from a tabloid perspective.

## 5.2 Editorial coverage

### 5.2.1 Quantity

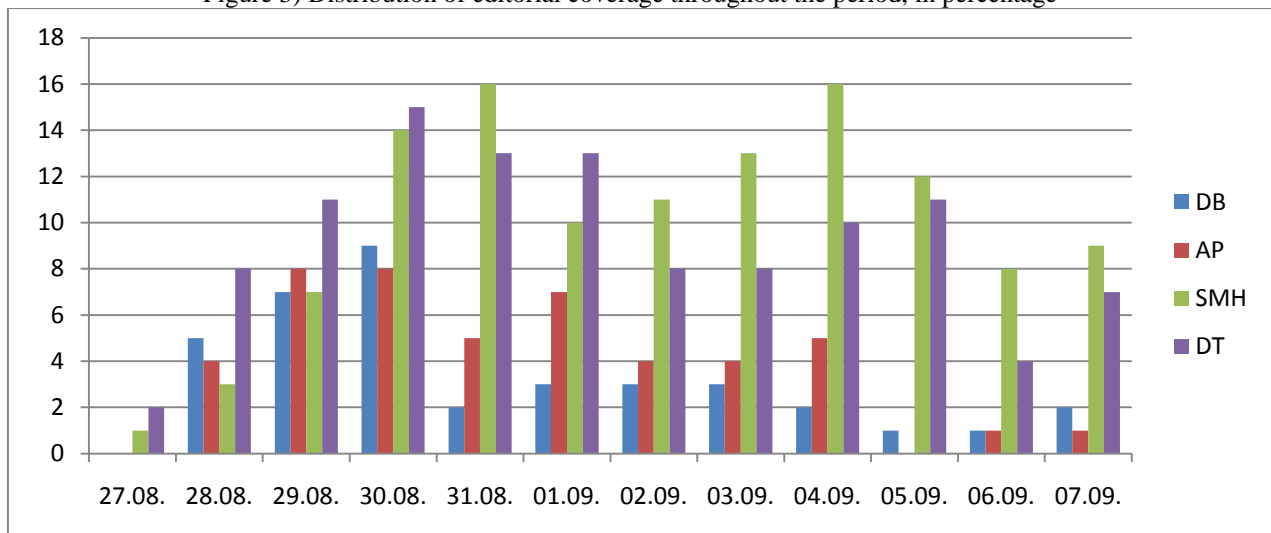
When looking only at editorial material, the difference between the Norwegian and Australian newspapers is less pronounced. *Dagbladet* had 38 units, *Aftenposten* 47, the *SMH* 120 and *The Daily Telegraph* 110.

Figure 2) Amount of editorial content



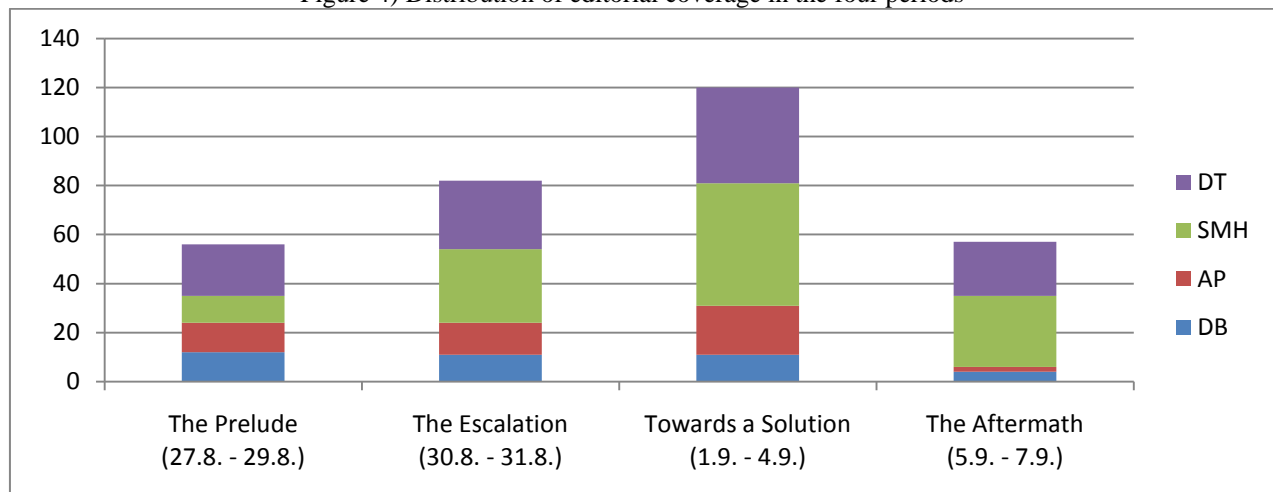
By splitting the editorial material day by day over the whole period, a peak in the coverage revealed itself between 30<sup>th</sup> August and 1<sup>st</sup> September, when captain Rinnan decided to enter Australian waters and Australian commando soldiers boarded the ship. For the Norwegian authorities, the *Tampa* crisis was no longer an issue relatively quickly after the Pacific Solution was introduced, but the Australian authorities were left with a political policy that was still hotly debated. Whereas the *Tampa* affair faded away from Norwegian coverage after the 1 September, the figure shows that Australian papers were still debating what measures should be taken to prevent people smuggling, tightening of relevant laws, the relationship to Indonesia, the asylum seekers' fate, and what the *Tampa* affair ended up costing Australia.

Figure 3) Distribution of editorial coverage throughout the period, in percentage



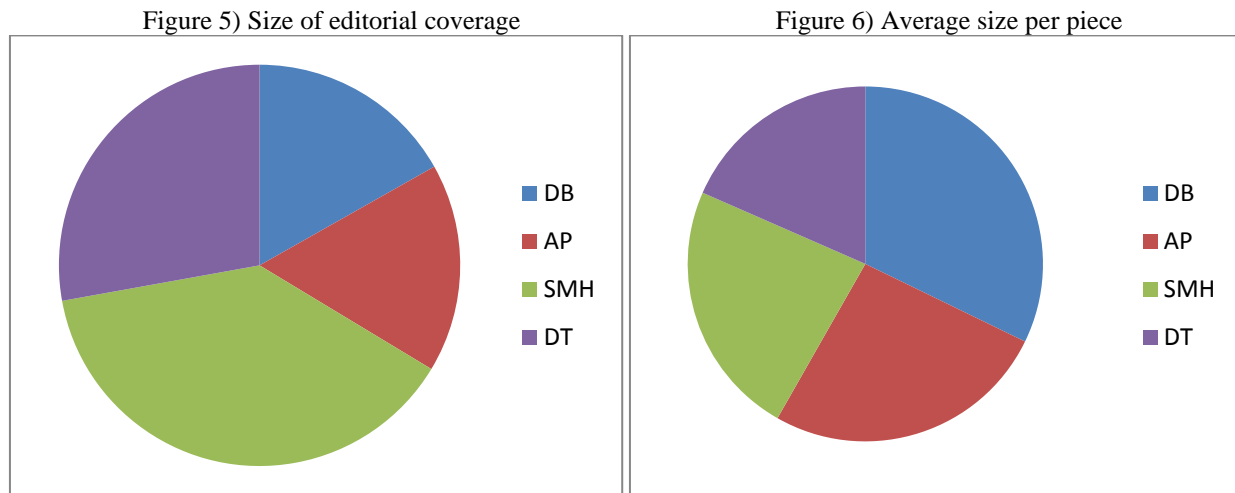
I split the *Tampa* crisis into four time periods which I have named ‘The Prelude’ (27<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> August), ‘The Escalation’ (30<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> August), ‘Toward a Solution’ (1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> September) and ‘The Aftermath’ (5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> September). By counting the total number of articles in each phase in each newspaper, it is apparent that the total coverage was quite even when comparing either the two Norwegian papers, or the two Australian papers, to one another. There were however large differences between in which phase the amount of articles was highest: in the ‘prelude’, *The Daily Telegraph* had most articles, while the *SMH* had least, but over the whole period, the distribution of articles was quite even between these papers. When the affair escalated in intensity, with the SASR forces entering the picture, this gave a clear boost to the amount of coverage in the Australian papers, while the Norwegian papers stayed near the same level of coverage. Once the UN negotiations got underway and there began to be political disagreement between the Australian Government and the opposition, there was a massive increase in number of articles from the Australian papers and *Aftenposten*. *Dagbladet* stayed at more or less the same level as before. As soon as the *Tampa* offloaded the refugees and continued onwards to Singapore, it can be seen that the Norwegian newspapers lose all interest in the affair, but in contrast there is still a good deal of coverage in the Australian papers. It can be concluded that the *Tampa* crisis lasted longer in the Australian media, and it covered a more complex range of issues.

Figure 4) Distribution of editorial coverage in the four periods



### 5.2.2 Size (area)

In terms of physical size, the Australian newspapers had the largest editorial coverage. Again, the *SMH* had the most extensive coverage, while the two Norwegian papers had very similar coverage in terms of size. *Dagbladet* had the largest average size per article, while *Aftenposten* came second. *The Daily Telegraph* had the lowest average size per article, which can be partly attributed to a larger number of paragraphs (genre #2) compared to the other papers. If the paragraphs are removed from the calculation, then the average size increases from 320 cm<sup>2</sup> to 386 cm<sup>2</sup> (Table 5.3).



When reader contribution is removed, the genre ‘articles’ becomes the dominant genre in the Australian papers, in similarity to the Norwegian papers, and articles comprised 51% and 32% respectively of the *SMH* and *The Daily Telegraph*. By dividing the editorial coverage into news content (articles; paragraphs; feature articles; news interviews; portrait interviews, and information boxes/polls) and opinionative content (commentaries; editorials; columns (petit); caricatures/cartoons), it becomes clear that the *SMH* had the most opinionative material, while *Dagbladet* had the least.

Table 7) Count and distribution of editorial content

Newspaper	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
News content	31	82	38	80	79	66	80	73
Opinionative content	7	18	9	19	41	34	30	27
Sum	38	100	47	100	120	100	110	100

The *SMH* distinguishes itself by having more feature articles and commentaries than the other papers, whilst the two tabloid papers had more paragraphs than the two broadsheets. This corresponds well with the theory that tabloid newspapers have more lightweight news, while the broadsheets go into more depth. (Allern 2002: 27).

Table 8) Count and distribution of editorial content divided into genres

Newspaper	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Article	22	58	27	57	61	51	35	32
Paragraph	7	18	5	11	2	2	22	20
Feature Article	1	3	1	2	9	8	3	3
Commentary	4	11	4	9	18	15	13	12
Editorial	3	8	3	6	6	5	8	7
Petit	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	0
News Interview	1	3	5	11	2	2	7	6
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Caricature	0	0	2	4	12	10	9	8
Info box/ poll	0	0.0	0	0	5	4	12	11
Sum	38	100	47	100	120	100	110	100

### 5.2.3 Illustrations

My analysis shows that *Dagbladet* and the *SMH* were the papers that had most illustrations in their coverage. In *Aftenposten* and *The Daily Telegraph*, just under half of all the pieces were illustrated. Normally it would be expected that the broadsheets would have less illustrations compared to the tabloid newspapers, but since *The Tele* had a lot more paragraphs than the other newspapers, a genre rarely illustrated, it makes sense that the amount of illustrated pieces were smaller than that of the broadsheets.

Table 9) Amount of illustrated vs. non-illustrated pieces

Illustration	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Value								
Yes	23	61	23	49	74	62	53	48
No	15	39	24	51	46	38	57	52
Total	38	100	47	100	120	100	110	100

When we look at the average number of illustrations per piece, the difference between the papers is less. *Dagbladet* has the most extensive use of images, which makes sense as it has the largest average size per piece, and in addition is a tabloid. The *SMH* and *The Tele* have comparable amounts of image-use, which indicates that *The Tele*, although having a high amount of non-illustrated pieces, makes up for this by having a high amount of illustrations per piece, when they are first used. If pieces with illustrations are looked at exclusively, it can be seen that the two

tabloids have on average more illustrations than the quality papers, although the difference between the paper with the least illustrations (*Aftenposten*) and the paper with the most illustrations (*Dagbladet*) is only 0.55 illustrations per piece.

Table 10) Average amount of illustrations per unit

Newspaper	DB	AP	SMH	DT
Total illustrations	38	76	2	38
Average illustrations per piece	45	104	2	45
Average illustrations (illustrated only)	108	429	4	108

#### 5.2.4 Sources

In addition to having more comprehensive coverage than the other papers in terms of the amount of units, the *SMH* also distinguished itself from the other papers in its use of sources. It had on average four sources per article, exactly double that of *Dagbladet*. There was little difference in the amount of sources in the three other papers.

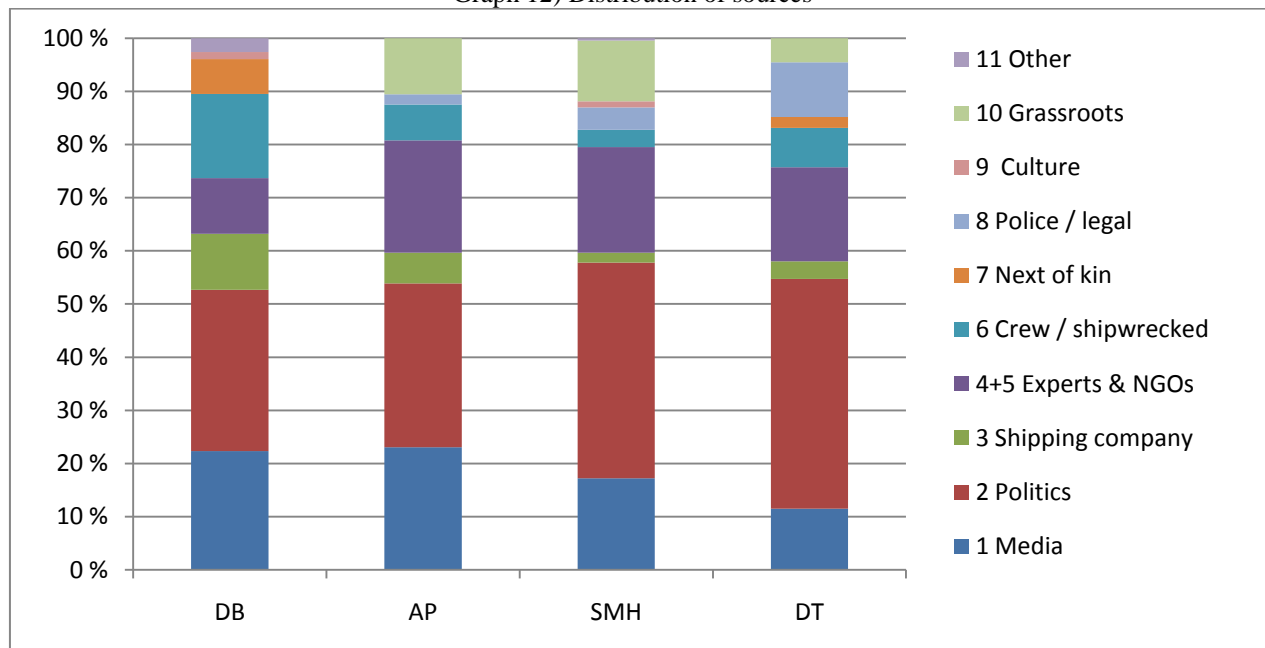
Table 11) Number of sources

Newspaper	Editorial content*	Total Sources	Average # sources
Dagbladet	38	76	2
Aftenposten	45	104	2
Sydney Morning Herald	108	429	4
The Daily Telegraph	101	243	2

\* All editorial content, except caricatures/cartoons, as these are not written texts demanding sources

Use of sources varied somewhat between the four papers, but as is shown below, there were some common factors. All four newspapers used mostly political sources. “Other media” was the second most common source used by the Norwegian papers, while it was the third most common source for the Australian papers, with “Experts & NGOs” in second place. *Dagbladet*’s third most common type of source was the crew of the *Tampa*, while *Aftenposten* had “Experts & NGOs” in third place. The two broadsheets in my selection distinguished themselves from the tabloids by having considerably more grass roots sources, something that can be attributed to them printing several articles where the inhabitants of Christmas Island and refugees in general (all of whom were categorised as grass roots sources as long as they were not acting as representatives or officials) were interviewed. The two tabloid papers had a higher number of sources among the crew’s next of kin, something that confirms the theory that tabloids are more oriented towards *identification* and has a higher focus on *dramaturgy* than their broadsheet counterparts (Hillesund 1996: 70-71 cited in Allern 2001: 30-31).

Graph 12) Distribution of sources



#### 5.2.4.1 Dagbladet

When examining *Dagbladet*'s use of sources more closely, it became clear that over a quarter (26%) were either employees of the shipping company, or crew onboard the *Tampa*. 20% were Norwegian authorities, while 22% were other media, and 11% expert sources. *Dagbladet* is the paper that had the least comprehensive coverage, and with fewest sources per article. This is also demonstrated by the more limited range of source types in table 13 below.

Table 13)

Source type – DB	no.	%
Shipping company & <i>Tampa</i> crew	20	26
Other media/ wire services	17	22
Norwegian authorities/ politicians	15	20
Australian authorities/ politicians	8	11
Experts & NGOs	8	11
Other	8	11
Sum	76	100

#### 5.2.4.2 Aftenposten

*Aftenposten* shows signs of being top heavy (Allern 2002: 170) in its use of sources, with a high occurrence of experts and politicians. Other media and wire services were the sources most referred to. The paper did, as mentioned previously, compensate by having a relatively high

occurrence of grass root sources, demonstrated in table 14 below by the high amount of quotes from inhabitants of Christmas Island. In contrast to *Dagbladet*, *Aftenposten* had a reporter on Christmas Island, which led to eyewitness accounts and interviews with local inhabitants in articles, feature articles and commentaries. *Aftenposten* had 11 secondary sources, that is, sources referring to a quote from another source. About half of these secondary sources were experts (Table 4.2).

Table 14)

Source type – AP	no.	%
Other media/ Wire services	23	22
Experts & NGOs	22	21
Norwegian authorities/ politicians	18	17
Inhabitants of Christmas Island	15	14
Shipping company & <i>Tampa</i> crew	12	12
Australian authorities/ politicians	7	7
Other	7	7
Sum	104	100

#### 5.2.4.3 The Sydney Morning Herald

The *SMH* had a wide array of sources, and in total, the paper had more sources than the sum of all three other papers. Australian authorities and politicians were the most common source, followed by other media/ wire services. It is interesting to note that the paper quoted more sources from Indonesian authorities than Norwegian authorities, and that Afghan refugees were a more common source than the Norwegian and Indonesian authorities. The statistics on sources suggest that the *SMH*, in contrast to the Norwegian papers, did not primarily take the view that the *Tampa* crisis was a conflict between Norwegian and Australian authorities. The paper had just as much focus upon illustrating the conflict between the Government and the opposition, and the conflict between the Indonesian president and the Australian prime minister. Secondary sources in the *SMH* follow the same pattern as first hand sources, insofar as they were predominantly experts and Australian politicians/authorities. These two groups comprise 30% of secondary sources (Table 4.2).



Table 15)

Source type – Sydney Morning Herald	no.	%
Australian authorities/ politicians	117	27
Experts & NGOs	76	18
Other media/ Wire services	62	15
Documents	40	9
Others	31	7
Afghans and refugees	26	6
Inhabitants of Christmas Island	23	5
Indonesian authorities	19	4
Norwegian authorities/ politicians	18	4
Shipping company & <i>Tampa</i> crew	17	4
Sum	429	100

#### 5.2.4.4 The Daily Telegraph

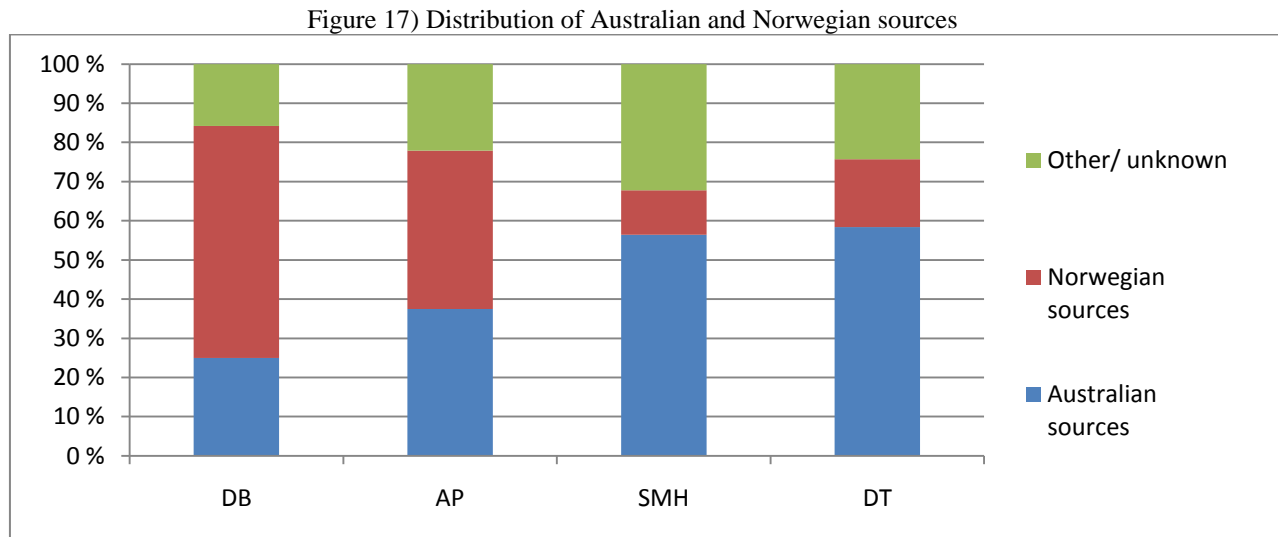
One third of the sources from *The Daily Telegraph* were Australian civil servants or politicians. In terms of the percentage of sources used, Norwegian authorities got greater exposure in *The Tele* than in the *SMH*, but since the latter used more sources overall, there were small differences between the two papers when it came to the actual number. In comparison to the *SMH*, *The Tele* also had more sources in the shipping company Wilh. Wilhelmsen and the ship's crew, but if the total number of sources is examined rather than the percentages, the *SMH* can be seen to have referred considerably more to Australian authorities, the crew, and the Norwegian media than its Sydney competitor. Furthermore, *The Tele* had 43 secondary sources, of which 39% were experts and 33% Australian authorities and politicians (Table 4.2). An interesting point to note when looking at *The Tele*'s coverage is that although the *Tampa* affair led to a large political debate about illegal immigrants and Australian asylum policies, Afghans and refugees were only cited three times in *The Tele* during the whole period.

Table 16)

Source type –The Daily Telegraph	no.	%
Australian authorities/ politicians	81	33
Others	41	17
Experts	34	14
Documents	31	13
Other media/ Wire services	22	9
Shipping company & <i>Tampa</i> crew	22	9
Norwegian authorities/ politicians	12	5
Afghans and refugees	3	1
Sum	243	100

#### 5.2.4.5 Australian vs. Norwegian sources

The Australian newspapers had a predominance of Australian sources. The *SMH* had fewer Norwegian sources than *The Tele*, and for both the Australian newspapers, around 60% of all their sources were Australian. The picture was more fragmented in the Norwegian papers. *Aftenposten* had quite an even split, with 39 Australian contra 42 Norwegian sources. *Dagbladet* had twice as many Norwegian sources as it had Australian.



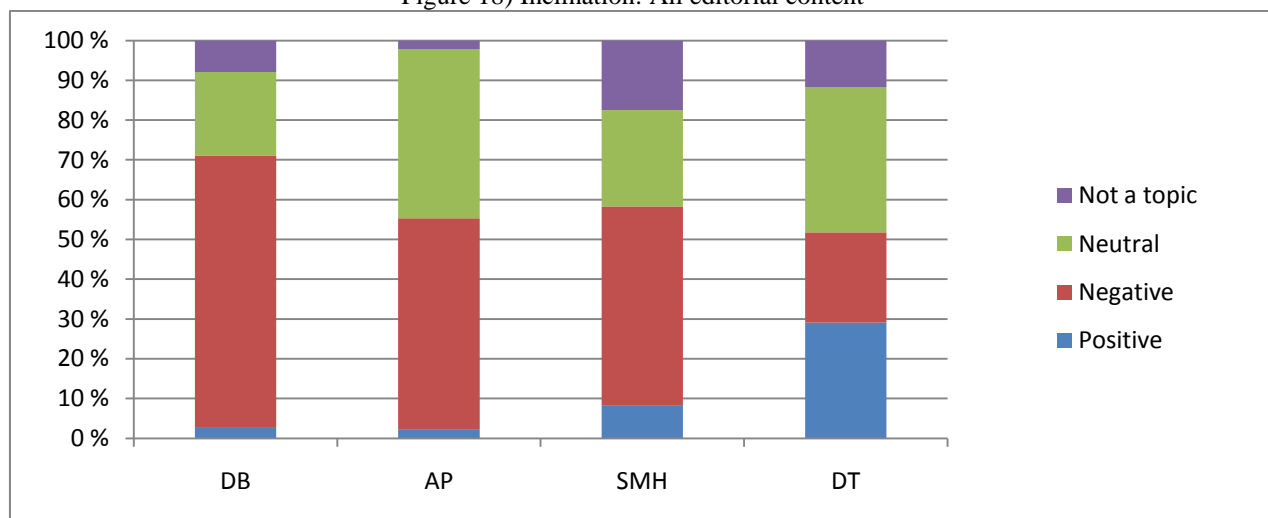
#### 5.2.5 Inclination

Figure 18 illustrates how the Norwegian newspapers were more negative to the Howard Government's handling of the *Tampa* crisis than the Australian papers. *Dagbladet* had a negative inclination in 68% of the editorial content, which makes it the most negative paper in the study. *Aftenposten* had 53% negative and 43% neutral content, and was therefore more balanced in its coverage. *Dagbladet*, by comparison, had only one neutral piece in every five.

The coverage in the two Australian newspapers had different political inclinations. While *The Tele* had more positive than negative news, half the pieces in the *SMH* were negative. The majority of the news in *The Tele* was neutral, something that can partly be explained by the paper having a higher amount of paragraphs and short, descriptive articles than the other papers (Table 6.4.4). Although the majority of the units that *The Tele* printed about the *Tampa* crisis were uncritical to the policy of the Australian Government, this does not mean that they were automatically coded as positive, as explained in section 4.2.2.5.

The Norwegian papers had 2% positive and 59% negative pieces, while the dispersion for the Australian papers was 18% positive and 37% negative. Consistent across all the newspapers is that caricatures were very negative toward the Australian Government's handling of the affair (figure 6.2). *Dagbladet* printed caricatures only as an illustration linked to editorials and commentaries, so these were therefore not coded separately, rather as a part of the article they were linked to. *Aftenposten* only printed two caricatures, while the *SMH* and *The Tele* had 12 and 9 respectively. 67% of those in the *SMH* were negative, while 89% were negative in *The Tele*. No caricatures in any of the four newspapers were coded as positive. Another genre with little positive bias was the feature article. Two out of three feature articles in *The Tele* were negative, and none of the other newspapers had any feature articles with positive inclination, although many of them were neutral, or focused more on the human than the political aspect of the incident.

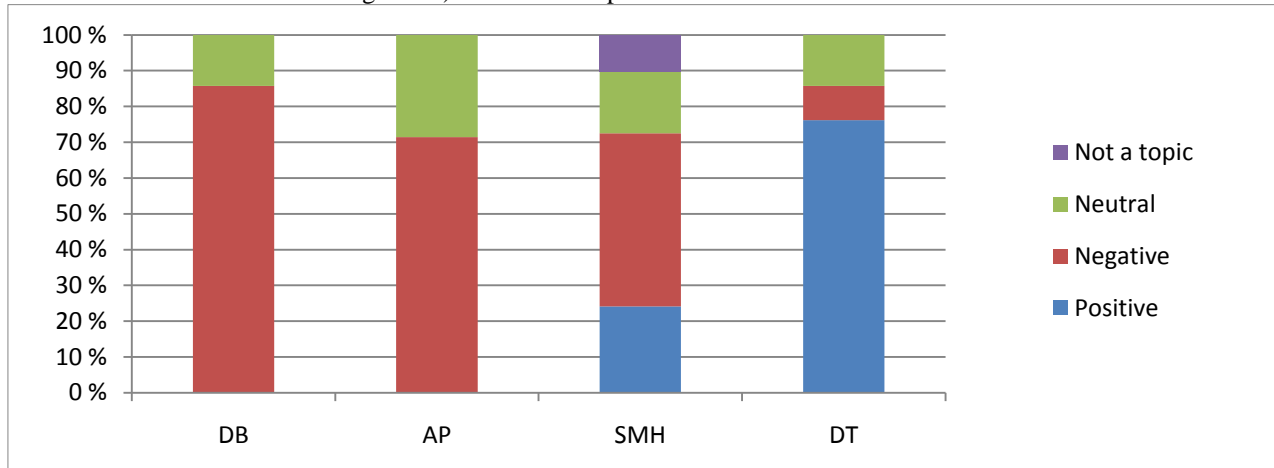
Figure 18) Inclination: All editorial content



When examining the political inclination of opinionative editorial content only (figure 19), 86% of the material was negative in *Dagbladet*, while in *Aftenposten* the figure was 71%. The *SMH* had a slightly lower percentage of negative opinionative editorial content (48%) compared to the percentage of negative pieces overall (50%), but if the caricatures and cartoons are deducted from the remaining news material, the difference is below 1% (Table 20, below). The opinionative editorial content in the *SMH* was, however, more positive than the overall editorial content, and 24% of the units had a positive inclination, opposed to 8% of the editorial content seen as a whole. *The Tele* had a clear predominance of opinionative content which supported the

Australian authorities' handling of the *Tampa* crisis. 76% of the units were positive towards Howard's stand-off, while 9% were negative.

Figure 19) Inclination: Opinionative editorial content\*



\*Caricatures/cartoons are not included in the opinionative editorial content

The analysis demonstrates that national allegiance was most visible among the opinionative editorial content, whereas the difference in the political inclination of other news material was smaller. *The Tele* differentiated itself by having considerably more pieces positive to Australian government policy and fewer with criticism of policy than any of the other papers. The other three newspapers were all relatively critical.

Table 20) Negative content\* split into opinionative content and other content

Newspaper	Opinionative editorial content			Other negative content*		
	Total	Negative		Total	Negative	
	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%
DB	7	6	86	31	20	64
AP	7	5	71	38	18	47
SMH	29	14	48	79	38	48
DT	21	2	10	80	15	19

\*Caricatures/cartoons are dealt with separately from the written content

When editorials were considered on their own, the bias became even clearer: 100% of *Dagbladet*'s editorials were negative towards the Australian government policy. For *Aftenposten*, it was 67%. The *SMH* had equally many positive, negative and neutral editorials, while *The Tele* had 87% positive and 12% neutral editorials (table 6.3.1 – 6.3.4).

### 5.2.6 Inclination over time

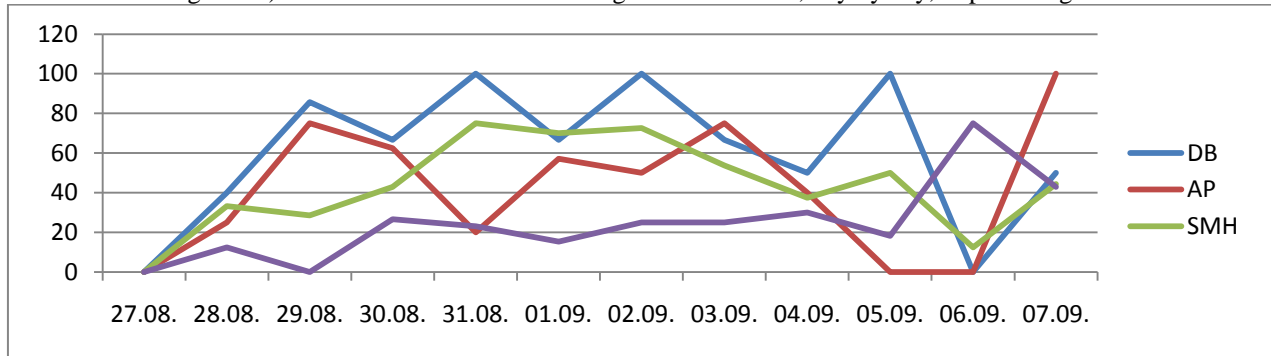
The newspaper most critical to the Australian Government, *Dagbladet*, was most critical at the start of the period (Figure 6.9.1), while the most supportive newspaper of the Australian Government, *The Daily Telegraph*, was most positive to the Australian Government policy in the first half of the time period (Figure 6.9.4). *Dagbladet* had the highest percentage of negative pieces on 5<sup>th</sup> September (100%), at the end of the study period, but since only one news story about the *Tampa* crisis was printed that day, this does not hold a great amount of statistical validity (Figure 6.9.1). Between 29<sup>th</sup> August and 3<sup>rd</sup> September, the percentage of negative pieces in *Dagbladet* was between 86% and 67% (Figure 21, below). After 3<sup>rd</sup> September, the coverage faded (Figure 3.1), and out of the six units printed after 3<sup>rd</sup> September, only three were negative (Table 6.7). The only article which is coded as positive in *Dagbladet* came on the last day of the study period (Table 6.8).

In *Aftenposten*, the percentage of negative units was more variable. On 29<sup>th</sup> August, six out of eight units were negative, but two days later, on 31<sup>st</sup> August, the figure dropped to 20%. From 4<sup>th</sup> September onwards, the amount of critical articles continued to drop, but the last article from the study period (7<sup>th</sup> September) is negative, and so the coverage from that day was 100% negative, due to there only being one unit about the *Tampa* that day (Table 6.7).

The *SMH*'s criticism of the Australian authorities escalated first on 30<sup>th</sup> August, when the paper printed six negative pieces. These constituted 43% of the fourteen pieces printed that day. Over the two consequent days the percentage of negative articles was over 70%, but from 3<sup>rd</sup> September, the number of negative units fell here too (Table 6.7).

*The Tele* had few critical articles at the start of the period, and the percentage of negative units did not exceed 30% before 4<sup>th</sup> September. On the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> September, the amount of pieces dealing with the *Tampa* crisis was considerably reduced, and at the same time the amount of pieces negative to government policy increased- on the 6<sup>th</sup> September, 75% of the material was critical to Howard (Table 6.7).

Figure 21) Distribution of content with negative inclination, day by day, in percentages



The Norwegian papers only had one positive piece each, which makes it difficult to look at any development over time. In the Australian papers however, a trend could be seen. While the *SMH* had only 8% positive articles, *The Tele* had 29%. Both newspapers were less positive in their coverage at the end of the period, as well as in the middle of the period, on 31<sup>st</sup> August and 1<sup>st</sup> September (Figure 6.6.2).

### 5.3 Summary

The quantitative content analysis showed that the extent of the Australian coverage was over ten times the size of the Norwegian coverage, and that over half of the material related to the *Tampa* crisis consisted of letters to the editor. In terms of both amount of news and physical size, it was the *Sydney Morning Herald* which had most coverage in total (Table 2.1), while *Dagbladet* had the largest average article size (Figure 5.2). The Norwegian papers based their stories primarily upon sources from the Norwegian authorities, other media and wire services, the *Tampa*'s crew, and experts, while the Australian papers relied primarily upon top heavy sources like the Australian authorities and experts (table 4.1). The two tabloid papers in the study used the crew's next of kin as a source on several occasions, something which the broadsheets did not do. This supports the theory that tabloids are more people focused than the broadsheets. *Aftenposten* had their own reporter on Christmas Island, something which led to a relatively large amount of grass root sources.

The two tabloids were more pronounced in their opinion than the quality papers. *Dagbladet* was the paper which most clearly criticised John Howard's stand-off, while *The Daily Telegraph* was the paper most positive to it. The *SMH* and *The Tele* were less alike than the two Norwegian newspapers. Comparing the two Australian papers showed that the *SMH* had more

than twice as many units critical to the Australian stand-off, while *The Tele* had over three times as many positive units. The *SMH* was critical to the Government's handling of the case, while *The Tele* was more neutral/positive (figure 18, above) When looking at opinionative editorial content (commentaries, editorials and petits), the national allegiance of the papers could be more clearly seen. *Dagbladet* and *Aftenposten* were extremely critical, while *The Tele* was positive to the government policy. The *SMH* was also more positive to the *Tampa* stand-off in its opinionative editorial content than in its material in general, but still had twice as many negative opinionative units (table 20, above).

When looking at the change in inclination through time, there was little change to be seen in the Norwegian newspapers, but there was some variation in the Australian papers. While the *SMH* was most critical while the military took control of the *Tampa*, *The Daily Telegraph* became more negative towards the end of the study period (table 6.7). This may have been a consequence of the restrictions placed upon Australian journalists while the ship was in Australian territorial waters. When the *Tampa* arrived in Singapore, the Australian media were given access to the crew of the ship, and could communicate their side of the story. Particularly the press conference held by the *Tampa* crew in Singapore boosted the amount of negative articles in *The Tele*. Looking at both of the Australian newspapers together, the numbers show a gradual reduction in the positive attitude towards Howard's stand-off throughout the period. In the Norwegian newspapers there was no discernible change over time, and only two articles with positive inclination were printed during the whole period (Table 6.8). This clearly illustrates that *Dagbladet* and *Aftenposten* had a strong allegiance to the Norwegian side of the conflict.

## 6 Discourse Theoretical Analysis

In the second analysis chapter, a qualitative overview of the *Tampa* crisis is presented in the form of a Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) of eight pieces from each newspaper. I have, as explained in chapter 4, divided the *Tampa* crisis into four phases that I consider to be distinct from one another, and which therefore are useful to use as an underlying framework for my analysis. The four phases vary somewhat in duration - some of them last for just a couple of days, while the longest stretches over four days.

### 6.1 The Prelude

The first phase of the *Tampa* crisis stretches from Monday the 27<sup>th</sup> August, the day the *Tampa* affair was first mentioned in the media, until the situation escalated on Thursday the 30<sup>th</sup> August, when Captain Arne Rinnan defied Australian orders and entered Australian territorial waters. On Monday the 27<sup>th</sup> the story had not yet been picked up by the Norwegian newspapers in the sample, while the Australian newspapers had a small piece each, although the story was reported as nothing more complex than just another boat-load of refugees arriving from Indonesia. By Tuesday the 28<sup>th</sup>, the *Tampa* crisis had become front-page news in all four newspapers, and the coverage escalated further on Wednesday the 28<sup>th</sup>.

#### 6.1.1 Dagbladet, Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*The people nobody wants. Article.*

The tabloid headline “Nobody wants the 438 refugees on the Norwegian *Tampa*” adorned *Dagbladet*’s front page the first day the incident was covered in the Norwegian press. The headline of the main article, “The people nobody wants”, portrays the refugees as victims, and appeals to *pathos* rather than *logos* (Roksvold 1989:16). The article is based upon interviews with the shipping company and the crew of the *Tampa*. The incident is described using loaded words such as “hunger”, “women and children”, “human catastrophe”, “scabies and diarrhoea”, and the rhetoric is reminiscent of reporting from a war zone. The *Tampa*’s Radio Officer Ramish Ivengar is quoted as saying that the refugees are desperate and threatening to jump overboard or take drastic action if the *Tampa* leaves Christmas Island. The quote from Ivengar is enlarged and separated from the rest of the text, giving it more weight than the other statements in the article.



The rescue operation is described as a living nightmare, but it is emphasised that the worst part for the crew was not the actual rescue, but to see how the refugees suffer. Even though it was reported that some of the shipwrecked were on hunger strike, and that they had threatened the crew, *Dagbladet* did not try to represent the situation as a conflict between the refugees and the crew. This can be linked to the fact that the crew expressed sympathy for the refugees. In addition, the crew and the refugees were (literally) in the same boat, and therefore the axis of the conflict can be seen as going vertically between the governments of the three countries on one side and the shipping company/ crew/ refugees on the other side, rather than horizontally between the crew and the refugees.

Captain Rinnan is established as a responsible and level headed commander-in-chief. Neither Norway, Australia, nor Indonesia are willing to accept responsibility for the refugees, but the article is not more critical to Australia. The Australian stand-off is at this point not a major concern, and it is reported that the Australian authorities have promised the Norwegian boat food and medicine. Although this has still not arrived, it is implied that it is just a matter of time before supplies will be provided. An edited version of this article is available in Retriever's database, and in this version the sentence "Australia, Norway and Indonesia have refused to accept the refugees" had been changed to "Australian authorities refuse to accept the refugees". To exclude Norway from the countries responsible for the refugees fitted much better into the news discourse *Dagbladet* covered the affair through, and better reflects the criticism of Australia raised by the Norwegian Government throughout the crisis. In the updated version, the Norwegian authorities are placed in what Bourdieu has called the *doxa*<sup>15</sup>.

The article is written through a foreign aid discourse, where the shipwrecked, the *Tampa's* crew, the ship and the situation onboard constitute the *nodal points* (Philips & Jørgensen 2002: 26). The Afghan boat-people are described using words like "desperate"; "suffering"; "threatening"; "sick"; "hungry"; injured, and "exhausted". The article, although emphasising that the shipwrecked have behaved aggressively, also stresses the fact that they are desperate to the point of selling all their belongings, and that they are hoping for a new and better life. The crew is

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<sup>15</sup> According to Bourdieu, all societies have a *doxa*, an element that is withheld from being questioned because someone seeks to uphold it –often the most important social structures and their operations- as self evident (Bourdieu 1977, cited in Ottosen 1994:42).

another important nodal point in this text. They have done what was asked of them, but nevertheless ended up victims. We are told that although they have a difficult task, the situation is now under control. Like *Dagbladet*, the crew expresses sympathy for the refugees' situation.

The situation is described as a “human disaster”, “critical”, “horrible”, and “intolerable”, and the main problems are made out to be the fact that Australia, Norway and Indonesia all refuse to take responsibility, and that the 438 “desperate” Afghan boat people refuse to allow the Norwegian cargo ship *Tampa* to leave Christmas Island. Another problem is that the food and medicines promised by the Australian authorities has not yet materialised. The solution is, according to the article, for Norwegian and Australian authorities to agree upon a course of action as soon as possible.

*Floating signifiers* are not present in the text because all the sources articulate the same discourse, and no competing discourses battle for *hegemony*. There are however dichotomies in the article. The crew is portrayed as “solution-oriented” and “conscientious”, which is in contrast to the Australian, Norwegian and Indonesian authorities, who according to the discourse are not very “solution-oriented” and are “denying responsibility”. Furthermore, the article conveys that the crew has the matter “under control”, while the refugees, for their part, are “out of control”.

*Dagbladet's* first article about the *Tampa* fulfils many of the news criteria which were discussed in chapter four, among other things: *topicality*, *sensation*, *identification (cultural proximity)* and *essentiality*. The aspect of conflict is present in the text, but the article is more characterised by sensation, with detailed descriptions of the tough conditions for both the crew and the refugees. Since the *Tampa* is a Norwegian freighter, the *cultural proximity* is strengthened, making the story extremely newsworthy.

### 6.1.2 Aftenposten, Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*The refugees are threatening to throw themselves in the ocean. Article.*

*Aftenposten* had a more neutral front cover headline than *Dagbladet* on the first day of the coverage: “Drama on Norwegian ship”. Unlike *Dagbladet*, who makes the refugees the object of *The people nobody wants*, *Aftenposten's* headline makes the refugees the subject, they come across as more of a threat and less as victims.

*Aftenposten's* lead is formulated as four points. The first states that the refugees are on hunger strike. The second highlights that desperate refugee are becoming more and more creative

when it comes to finding new routes of escape. The third point establishes Australia as a nation that has a very restrictive immigration policy in order to hinder the increasing illegal immigration by boat. The last point reports that Norwegian authorities claim they have no responsibility for the refugees. Captain Rinnan is quoted as saying that the refugees have threatened to “go crazy” three times in the article. The Australian authorities are refusing to allow the ship to dock. It is described how the *Tampa*'s crew have converted containers into toilets and shelter for the refugees, and how there are always two crew members monitoring the refugees. Rinnan fears the refugees will “Come up with something”. He also says that neither Australia nor Indonesia will have anything to do with them. The timeline of the incident is presented- the *Tampa* received an emergency call from the Australian coastguard about a ship in distress, according to the message there were eighty people aboard the ship. Rinnan wanted to take the shipwrecked to Singapore, but they demanded to be taken to Australia. According to Rinnan, the Australian rescue centre gave him permission to set sail for Christmas Island if he considered the situation too threatening. It came therefore as a shock to the captain that the *Tampa* was not allowed in to port at Christmas Island.

Central nodal points in this article are the refugees, the crew, the situation on board, and Australian authorities. According to *Aftenposten* the refugees are from Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. There are 43 children and 22 women, four pregnant. The situation aboard the *Tampa* is described as “very worrying”, but things have calmed down, and the pregnant women have agreed to eat. According to *Aftenposten*, the Australian Government is very restrictive when it comes to boat people, and therefore refuses to allow the *Tampa* to dock at Christmas Island, even though the rescue centre gave the captain permission to proceed to Christmas Island if he felt threatened. Of the Indonesian authorities we learn only that they do not want anything to do with the *Tampa*. The crew are described as afraid of what the refugees might do. They keep watch on deck to monitor the situation, but have managed to reassure the refugees that they are doing everything to help them. The crew express surprise over the stand-off, and are waiting for a solution from the Norwegian and Australian governments. The problems portrayed by the article are that the refugees appear threatening, and that Australia has let the *Tampa* down.

*Aftenposten* moves within the same discourse order as *Dagbladet* in “The people nobody wants”. The paper does, however, make a considerably greater effort to present the affair through a discourse where one of the nodal points is the conflict between the crew and the refugees, while

the refugees' difficult situation, unlike that in *Dagbladet*, is subordinated. *Aftenposten* creates an enemy image of the refugees by fixing them to negative signifiers like "aggressive", "threatening", "desperate" and "creative in finding new escape routes". Signifiers like "extremely tired", "ill", "wounded" and "imploring", help emphasise them as human, and thus moderate the enemy image somewhat. In common with *Dagbladet's* main article, the article fulfils many of the news criteria, especially identification, sensation and conflict.

### 6.1.3 Aftenposten, Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Asylum seeker drama in the Indian Ocean. Editorial.*

This editorial's main concern is that ships may in the future refuse to pick up shipwrecked refugees because of what is happening on the *Tampa*. *Aftenposten* does not characterise the refugees as victims of Howard's stand-off, but as illegals with methods not unlike those of hijackers. According to *Aftenposten*, "Sources suggest that the shipwrecked are 'economic' refugees from Afghanistan and other Asian countries", but no source is given. Australia is censured for washing its hand of the situation and putting the *Tampa's* crew in a dangerous situation. *Aftenposten* clarifies that the law is clear in this area and conveys the subject matter within a legal discourse, where humanitarian aspects must give way to pragmatism. The editorial also draws a parallel with the Vietnamese boat people of the 1970s, and how Norwegians, unlike many other countries, considered it their duty to help these people. Finally the editorial concludes by saying that the refugees should not count on getting particularly benevolent treatment, because they appear to be economic refugees, and because they have threatened the captain.

The *Tampa's* crew and Norwegian sailors in general are paid tribute to, while three groups are criticised, and thus considered "the others": the shipwrecked, who are described as criminals; the Australian authorities, who has failed to assist a ship in distress; and 'other nations' who were not interested in helping Vietnamese boat people in the 1970s. Regarding these groups as "the others" helps define Norway as a responsible and good nation. It later transpires that this is the only occasion on which *Aftenposten* chooses to cover the case through such as discourse. As the case develops, it becomes ever clearer that the *Tampa* crisis is a conflict between Norway and Australia, and *Aftenposten* accordingly alters its news discourse.

#### 6.1.4 Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Three nations cast refugees adrift. Article.*

In common with the other papers, the *Tampa* makes front page news in the *SMH*, and the message in the headline –“Three nations cast refugees adrift” makes clear that the conflict between the three nations is the focus of the story rather than the actions of the refugees. According to the *SMH*, a freighter is stranded off Christmas Island with over 400 refugees on board. Australia, Indonesia and Norway all deny responsibility. The article describes the *Tampa* and the asylum seekers as “floating in diplomatic limbo just outside Australian waters”. The prime minister is quoted as saying he believes it is a matter to be solved between Indonesia and Norway. The *SMH* also reports that in Norway’s opinion, the refugees are Australia and Indonesia’s responsibility. Indonesian officials are quoted as saying they will not allow the boat to enter their waters.

The chain of events is presented chronologically: Australian rescue authorities alerted the *Tampa* to a sinking wooden boat, then once those onboard had been rescued, Captain Rinnan tried to set course for Indonesia. The refugees then threatened to throw themselves overboard, so Rinnan changed course and made for Christmas Island. The Australian authorities gave him a green light to head for Christmas Island if the refugees acted threateningly (they did). Because the rescue took place in the Indonesian rescue zone, Australia’s Prime Minister Howard decided to put his foot down, even though the rescue location was far closer to Christmas Island. The first part of the text does not focus on any refugee misbehaviour; it is very neutral and weighs all the facts equally.

The article then refers to statements from shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen, who the night before had expressed concerns for the health of the refugees, and stressed that one of them was unconscious. AFP is also quoted as saying that the refugees had gone on hunger strike, a term which is far more neutral than *The Daily Telegraph*’s “Starve to death” (Gee & Birch, 2001). Furthermore, the paper details who the refugees are: 26 women and 43 children. They are from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. This gives the boat people a face, in contrast to the “Human cargo” described in *The Tele* the same day (Gee & Birch, 2001). Opposition leader Kim Beazley (ALP) is described as supporting the Government’s stand-off, but the *SMH* includes a statement from the Green Party’s Bob Brown, who is highly critical of the Government, saying “It’s harsh, it’s inhuman, and it is going to create a rising resentment with other governments, as well as (...)”

within the Australian community”. At the same time, Prime Minister Howard is cited as saying that it is “A difficult and sad situation”, and he stresses the fine balance between “The undoubted right of this country to decide who comes here and (...) our humanitarian obligations as a warm-hearted, decent international citizen”.

The article in the *SMH* is more accurate than the other newspapers at describing the facts of the case. It is neutral, and cautious with using loaded words. The crisis is presented through a conflict frame, where Australia, Norway, and Indonesia stand in three corners. This is emphasised on the front page, where four quotes are presented from the four main parties to the conflict- John Howard, Indonesian authorities, represented by First Admiral Franky Kaynatu of the Indonesian Navy, a Norwegian Government spokesman, and Captain Rinnan. The refugees are rendered passive by the story. Only once is it pointed out that the refugees behaved threateningly, but the aggressive behaviour is not treated as a problem. In the other newspapers, this information is repeated in the headline, the lead, and in the body of the story, and in most of the articles the information is given early on in the text, indicating it is considered to be an important fact in the case. In the *SMH*, the diplomatic conflict is presented first. The paper covers the crisis through a political discourse, and carefully avoids using tabloid elements to create drama. It can be concluded that the piece in the *SMH* covers the story from a macro perspective and has less focus on identification and sensation than the corresponding coverage in the other papers analysed here.

#### 6.1.5 The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*SAS Troop Alert- Australians to Board Ship Today. Article.*

*The Tele* covers the incident as a diplomatic crisis through a military conflict discourse in its main article. The newspaper refers to “The diplomatic crisis over the cargo ship trying to bring 438 refugees into Australia”. Instead of making the Australian Government’s stand-off the issue of debate, the fact that the cargo ship is trying to enter Australia is depicted as the main problem, making the *Tampa* the active party. In very technical language, the paper describes the latest course of events. Prime Minister Howard is quoted as saying how hard the Government is working to provide emergency relief and humanitarian aid. It becomes clear from the article that the crew members on the *Tampa* have been instructed not to comment on the situation to the Australian media.

Regional director of Wilh. Wilhelmsen shipping line Peter Dexter underlines his concern about his condition of what he calls “his passengers”. Through this discourse, Dexter avoids considering the nationality or status of the shipwrecked. The Afghan consulate in Australia is also quoted as being concerned about what is happening aboard the *Tampa*. They believe the people onboard the ship have been victims of Pakistani aggression, which stands in contrast to most other theories, which consider it most likely that the refugees are fleeing the Taliban. The consulate asks governments around the world, including Australia, Norway and Indonesia to increase their efforts to combat the violence and suffering of the Afghan people. It shows appreciation for Australia’s compassion, emergency food, and medical supplies for the shipwrecked.

Opposition leader Kim Beazley agrees with Prime Minister Howard’s decision because the rescue occurred within the Indonesian zone, and he holds Indonesia responsible for the refugees. The article presents the conflict like a dispute between Australia and Indonesia, rather than Australia and Norway. The Australian Government is allowed to present their discourse, where the refugees are not their problem, but where they are still helping out with food and medical care until the countries responsible manage to find a solution. Completely excluded from the discourse is the irony of the *Tampa* being asked by Australia to pick up refugees, then being told they do not want anything to do with them. Despite reports of about fifteen unconscious passengers, and a doctor from the Royal Flying Doctors Service having determined that a number of people onboard required medical treatment, the Government does not seem to regard the health of the refugees as a situation requiring immediate attention.

#### 6.1.6 The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> August 2001

##### *Balancing Sympathy and Facts. Editorial.*

In this editorial, the stand-off is described as demeaning. According to *The Tele*, the Federal Government has acted correctly. It is underlined that the passengers paid to illegally gain access to Australia in contravention of immigration laws. The refugees are referred to as illegal immigrants who have behaved dubiously, who refused to be taken to the nearest port in Indonesia, and who have an aggressive nature. Captain Rinnan is portrayed as a victim, pressured by the refugees into heading to Australia. It is emphasised that by doing this, Captain Rinnan broke the maritime law, and an enemy image is created of the Captain. *The Tele* believes that

Captain Rinnan's intentions are "To overstate the condition of the illegals (...), to compel Australia to allow the vessel into Australian waters for humanitarian reasons".

According to the Royal Flying Doctor Service, the *Tampa* passengers are not in any need of urgent medical attention. This casts doubt on the reliability of the ship's crew. Despite this, the Federal Government has agreed to provide personnel, medical supplies, and food and water. This editorial creates dichotomies between on one hand, Australia, who is trying to do good for the genuine refugees by not allowing illegal refugees to jump ahead of the queue, and on the other hand the "naive do-gooders of the crew", the International Society, and the UN, who are accused of having been "unusually quiet". Australian authorities are described as honest and pragmatic, in contrast to Captain Rinnan, and the UNHCR, who are dishonest and have something to hide.

A second enemy to Australia is made out to be the other governments in the region, who are advised to cooperate with Australia in the fight against people smugglers. One thousand "illegals" have arrived by boat over the last four weeks, and these refugees are described as an increasing threat to Australian society. *The Tele* consequently uses negatively loaded language in its description of the shipwrecked. The chance of them being legitimate refugees is not considered. No distinction is drawn between genuine refugees entering illegally and non-genuine refugees; they regard them all as "others".

#### 6.1.7 Dagbladet, Wednesday 29th August 2001

##### *The Refugees and Our Responsibilities. Editorial*

*Dagbladet's* editorial distances itself from the way the Australian Government refuses to allow the *Tampa* to dock in Australia. Several of the refugees, who come from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, are seriously ill. They have been transported by human smugglers from Indonesia, hoping to start a new life in Australia. Captain Rinnan fears that there may be deaths. *Dagbladet* is of the opinion that Australia is acting in an uncivilized manner, more concerned about winning the election than saving people in distress. The paper fears the repercussions will be that other ships will be reluctant to pick up refugees, because it will be a burden for the ship's home country. Since it is an emergency situation, *Dagbladet* proposes to transport the refugees to Norway.

*Dagbladet* rejects the claim made the day before in *Aftenposten*: that the shipwrecked are economic refugees who have used methods similar to hijacking and, therefore, cannot expect



sympathetic treatment. *Dagbladet* claims that *Aftenposten*'s editorial only considered the financial aspects, and failed to take the individual stories into account. *Dagbladet* reminds us that the captain has denied that this is a case of hijacking. The paper encourages the current Norwegian (Labour Party) Government to show some warm-heartedness and differentiate itself from the heartlessness of the political right, which yesterday's editorial in *Aftenposten* was a mouthpiece for.

The main discourse apparent in this editorial is the *national, Norwegian social democracy discourse*. Norway is an important floating signifier - an element which different discourses battle to define - in a discourse order where different discourses about Norway co-exist and attempt to lock Norway to one set of meaning, making it hegemonic. Floating signifiers that refer to a constructed whole are what Laclau & Mouffe calls *myths* (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 39-40). This editorial is both constituted by - and contributes to the maintenance of - a version of the myth of *Norway as good*.

Norway is defined just as much by distinguishing it from what it is not. In this editorial, Norway stands in contrast to the "Barbarism in the Australian Government". Although the *Tampa* is Norwegian registered, Norway has, according to *Dagbladet*, "No automatic responsibility for the shipwrecked". *Dagbladet* does however suggest that "The refugees should be transported to Norway". It is automatically assumed that Norway, the *virtue regime*, will give them a warmer welcome. The paper articulates the nodal point Norway to the signifier "moral". The sense of Norway as "good" is implicit in the discourse, meaning it is so firmly established that its contingency has been forgotten – what Laclau (2001: 34) call *objective*.

At the same time, the text contributes to modifying the discourse about *Australia*. A dichotomy is created between Norway as "good", and Australia who "has set itself outside the civilized world". Australia is a floating signifier which, before the *Tampa* crisis, had been the object of various attributions of meaning, dependant on the discourse. In terms of travel, it was perhaps characterised by long white beaches, exotic landscapes and wildlife, a pleasant climate, a laid-back population, and "surf & study"<sup>16</sup>. In a racism context it has been part of a discussion of colonisation and suppression of the aborigines, and the "White Australia Policy" that lasted right up until 1975 (Every 2006: 13; Kvam Jr. 2001).

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<sup>16</sup>The term refers to exchange agreements between Norwegian and Australian colleges or universities.

In this text, Australia is characterised as a country that “Breaks all conventions”. According to *Dagbladet*’s editorial, Australia's motives for refusing the *Tampa* landing include that “They were not the shipwrecked from a cruise ship”, and “Winning an election counts more than a refugee life”. The Australian authorities are likened to “20<sup>th</sup> century tyrants” who also failed to put human rights first. It is clear that the stereotype of the racist Australia has come to the surface again. At the same time there is a dig toward the political right and mass tourism in the country, capitalists who will accept outsiders only as long as they are rich cruise ship tourists coming to Australia to spend money.

This moves us into another discourse that is clearly present in this text: a discourse that is part of a political order of discourse where the left and right wing attempt to define what values best serve society. *Dagbladet* positions itself on the political left, and sees *Aftenposten* as the spokesman for the political right, which is described as “heartless”. The Australian Government is also located on this side of the political spectrum, and *Dagbladet* discursively *articulates* the political right, both in Australia and Norway, together with *Aftenposten*, into a discourse in which they are fixed first and foremost to a cynical capitalist value system.

*Dagbladet* has sympathy for the refugees, and at no point describes them as asylum seekers. Rather, they are articulated as “people”, with “personal stories” or “shipwrecked”. The people smugglers are described as having “brought them”. This way of portraying the people smugglers as active and the refugees as passive distances the refugees somewhat from the fact that they paid to be smuggled into Australia, or “Jump the queue”, as the Australian Government put it. The objective of the refugees’ journey is described as “Hope for a new life” which contrasts with “For financial gain” or in order to “Take advantage of Australian welfare benefits”. The discourse used to describe the refugees locks them to one type of meaning, and excludes other alternative types of meanings seen in other articles. There is no attempt at *othering*, but rather inclusion.

The editorial contains words such as “drama”, “unworthy”, “dramatic,” “seriously ill”, “fears the first death”. These are tabloid mechanisms, used to emphasise the spectacular nature of the situation. The fear that the first death will come soon, takes for granted that there will be deaths- it becomes merely a question of when, and this heightens the sense of urgency in the case considerably.

#### 6.1.8 Dagbladet, Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Worried for Terje's life. The crew is in despair. Article.*

In this article, the *Tampa* crew's relatives are interviewed. Most of them are confident that the crew are ok, considering the conditions, and that Captain Rinnan has control of the situation. The mother of the First Officer Grete Bugge (26), Britt emphasises that her daughter is tough and knows how to keep a cool head under pressure. According to Bugge, the worst part for the crew is "Having to see the misery down on the deck". According to the father of Chief Officer Christian Maltau, Jan Martin Maltau, the crew feels powerless. He is disappointed that the Australian authorities do not take responsibility. In the picture caption it emerges that Chief Officer Maltau has learned to make baby food after having picked up the 438 boat people. By describing the feelings and emphasising the small details that only those closest to the crew know, *Dagbladet* covers the story through a down-to-earth *proximity discourse*. The crew are described as brave victims of Australian immigration politics. It is only Bente Wang, wife of repair man Terje Wang, who expresses concern about the refugees' behaviour. Wang is worried that "The refugees become so desperate that they go after the crew". The quotation is, despite the fact that it is not representative of the article's discourse, included in the article's introduction, most likely because it is more dramatic than the other statements. The rest of the relatives live up to the stereotype of *good* Norwegians by communicating the situation through a humanitarian discourse. Wang also does this to an extent, by explaining that she feels selfish for sitting at home and feeling this insecurity.

#### 6.1.9 Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Thus Far and No Further. Editorial.*

In this editorial, the *SMH* analyses the Australian stand-off. Through an Australian domestic politics discourse, the *Tampa* crisis is included in the ongoing debate about asylum seekers who arrive by boat from Indonesia with the help of people smugglers. Although it uses subdued language, such as "irregularly" rather than "illegally", and considers the humanitarian perspective carefully, the editorial still argues that Prime Minister Howard is right in denying the *Tampa* refugees to be taken to Christmas Island. The *SMH* leaves no doubt that Indonesia is responsible because it admitted the Afghans in the first place. Indonesia also permitted them to engage the KM Palapa 1 to carry them, against Australian law, to an Australian landfall. The paper

recognises that captain and crew are inconvenienced, and they are commended for acting in the best traditions of seafarers. The situation onboard the *Tampa* is described as abnormal and far from comfortable, and the *SMH* thinks the crew are entitled to consider the stand-off unfair.

The paper elegantly avoids creating enemy images of crew. The 438 asylum seekers are also described using decent terminology; there is no talk of “criminals”, “illegals”, or “queue-jumpers”. Even the Indonesian people smugglers are referred to as “presumed people smugglers”. The *SMH*, despite considering the *Tampa* Crisis to be a miserable affair, believes that some good can come of it, if it leads to closer cooperation between Australia and Indonesia to curb the activities of people smugglers. The *SMH* rules out the possibility of landing them onto smaller boats, and of Christmas Island as a feasible disembarkation point. It is therefore suggested that the *Tampa* should proceed to either Singapore, its original destination, or to Merak, Indonesia.

## 6.2 The Escalation

I refer to the 30<sup>th</sup> and the 31<sup>st</sup> August as “The escalation”. In this period, the crisis intensified considerably when Australian commando soldiers boarded the *Tampa*, and the Australian Government attempted to change the constitution so that the *Tampa* could be towed out of Australian waters. This new legislation would also have made it legal to open fire on the captain, which helps to draw parallels with the coverage of war conflicts.

### 6.2.1 Dagbladet, Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Was the Tampa chosen? Article.*

Two other vessels were closer to the sinking *Palapa* when the Rescue Coordination Centre (RCC) sent the distress call, and *Dagbladet* suspects that the *Tampa* was selected because the other two ships were from Cyprus or Liberia. According to *Dagbladet*, these two countries would have been unlikely to take responsibility for the refugees, indicating that the newspaper has a perception that other countries automatically rank lower than Norway when it comes to ethical standards. *Dagbladet* contacted the RCC to obtain information about which other vessels were nearby the *Palapa* at the time of the incident, but the information could not be provided, since the RCC had been subject to a gagging order from the Government. All information had to be approved by the Prime Minister's office in Canberra. It is proposed that Australia has something to hide, and the word censorship comes into play. The description of this incident means that

Australia as a *floating signifier* is attributed a new meaning, most commonly associated with dictatorships. We can say that this new perception of Australia places the country in a dichotomy with the moral, social democratic lifestyle of Norway.

An anonymous Norwegian diplomat alleges that Australian ships were closer to the Palapa than the *Tampa*, and that Australian authorities deliberately sought help from a Norwegian boat. This helps to establish a theory that the *Tampa* crisis was staged by the Australian authorities, and that the *Tampa*'s involvement was planned. This strengthens the enemy image of Australia. Through his discourse, the diplomat also places Australia among those responsible for resolving the crisis. He says "It was an Australian rescue mission, where the Government sought help from a Norwegian ship and got it". This stands in an *antagonistic* relationship with the Australian Government's discourse, which, by noting that the *Tampa* was in international waters, and that Australia only assisted Indonesia, attempts to define Indonesia as the party who should resolve the conflict.

#### 6.2.2 Aftenposten, Thursday 30th August 2001

##### *Australia The Bully. Editorial.*

In this editorial, *Aftenposten* states that Australia has been acting like an international bully. *Aftenposten* in other words declares that because of the stand-off, it has to exclude Australia from "western, responsible nations" by creating a *situational* enemy image of the nation (Höjelid 1991:112, cited in Ottosen 1994: 84). Immigrant fear is, according to *Aftenposten*, a prominent feature of Australian domestic politics, something both the crew and the shipwrecked are victims of. Australian authorities have undoubtedly acted in conflict with international etiquette and the rules of rescue at sea. With this, *Aftenposten* excludes other interpretations of international maritime law from the discourse, and nothing is mentioned of Indonesia's failure to take responsibility. The fact that Indonesia is fully excluded from the discourse is a sign that Indonesia is already part of "the others", of whom nothing is expected. At this point, Australia is on its way into "the others". The crew of the *Tampa* is praised for the rescue, and *Aftenposten* says it is a matter of course that the shipwrecked should be brought to the nearest port and given the necessary medical and humanitarian assistance.

The paper reprimands Australia, but in contrast to *Dagbladet*, which attacks the country as a whole and makes a personal attack on Prime Minister Howard, *Aftenposten* states that the

role of international bully does not suit Australia, that it undermines its reputation. It is the “Australian Government” and “the country's political leaders” who act “reprehensibly”. The bill that the Government tried to pass through the senate the day before is described as “doubtful”, a much more low-key criticism than *Dagbladet*, who in a tabloid manner reported how the new law would have “opened up the possibility of shooting the captain” (Hagvaag, 2001). The Australian election campaign is not mentioned at all, and the Government’s position in the political spectrum is not mentioned.

In the first articles published by *Aftenposten*, the refugees were discussed in negative terms, and the paper was criticised for this by *Dagbladet*. *Aftenposten* responds with the argument that “Humanitarian zeal should not mislead anyone to confuse a sober assessment of the situation with the absence of heart.” We are told that Captain Rinnan and the crew of the *Tampa* no longer consider the refugees a threat, implying the crew’s initial discourse coincided with that of *Aftenposten*. The paper maintains that the threatening behaviour the refugees displayed at the start of the incident justifies *Aftenposten*’s claim that they made things difficult for themselves and future boat people. The criticised article is thus changed from the alienation of a group of non-westerners, to constructive criticism given in order to assist refugees. *Aftenposten* in this editorial positions itself as a neutral observer, and even though the newspaper directs sharp criticism towards the Australian Government, this criticism is articulated through a legal macro-discourse more than an emotional humanitarian discourse.

### 6.2.3 Aftenposten, Friday 30<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Australians shocked by their government. Article.*

Rather than creating an enemy image of Australia, *Aftenposten* in this article attempts to communicate the resistance towards the Australian stand-off that also exists domestically within Australia. According to the newspaper, many Australians are disgusted and ashamed over the Government’s stance. They consider Prime Minister Howard to have acted inhumanely, and by using a different, conflicting discourse, they attempt to correct the impression that all Australians support the Government's intransigence towards the Afghan refugees. “No doubt the refugees were on their way to Australia with a desire to sneak in the immigration queue, but Australia is a rich country, we can afford to look after these people, and the residents on Christmas Island have also said they are willing to take them in”, emphasises Chris Henmam, an engineer from

Canberra who has phoned *Aftenposten*. Although he is critical to the Australian policy, he reveals that he has adopted Howard's terminology when he refers to "queue-jumpers", a central *signifier* in the discourse that Prime Minister John Howard uses in the refugee debate in Australia.

Eddie Jones from Willoughby also calls *Aftenposten*, claiming that he speaks on behalf of "A proud, but at the moment terribly ashamed Australian family who apologise to the Norwegian people". He believes the stand-off is the result of a desperate Prime Minister approaching an election. According to Jones, Howard's actions do not represent the Australian belief that humanity should take precedence over everything else.

These two Australians try to change the discourse that Australia has been presented through in Norway. They describe themselves as proud and humane, like Norway and not like "the others". Journalist John Shaw from Sydney believes the crisis is solely due to the upcoming election. He believes the authorities are using the crisis to send a political message to both the voters and the international community. Shaw states that Australia has had "a problem with illegal immigrants" for a long time, but has not received any international assistance. By articulating this, Shaw creates a more nuanced picture: Australia abandoned by other nations, and forced to resort to extreme measures.

#### 6.2.4 The Daily Telegraph, Thursday 30th August 2001

*Dawn mutiny – Senate Rejects Laws to Expel Boat People. Article.*

On the same day the opposition chose to vote against fast-track legislation aimed at shoring up Australia's legal position over the crisis, *The Daily Telegraph* becomes more critical to the Government. Prime Minister Howard claims his Government has been "done over" by the Labor Party, the Democrats, and the Greens. He thus creates an enemy image of the opposition parties. The bill that was voted down in the Senate is a *floating signifier* that the different political wings in Australia, as well as the international community, are keen to fill with meaning. The legislation thus becomes the nodal point of the different sources who are cited in the article. Howard articulates it as "A law that would have reinforced Australia's legal position and made it beyond doubt that the Government acts legally". Labor's Senate Leader John Faulkner, on the other hand, describes it as "So badly written and so over-arching, it could have allowed Australian customs officers to shoot the Captain of the ship". Faulkner's antagonistic interpretation of the signifier implies that the bill is desperate act. Opposition leader Kim Beazley (ALP) calls the Government

irrational and their actions “unacceptable”. He emphasises the need for principles, and describes the legislation as “bad, draconian legislation”.

More criticism is raised by *Tampa* Captain Arne Rinnan’s wife, Grethe Rinnan, who states that Australia has treated her husband harshly. In her opinion, Australia has dumped the problem on Rinnan. “I think your Prime Minister is a hard man. He does not look good (...) he won't give anything. I don't understand Australia's position at all ... how can they live with themselves?” Through this statement Australia is articulated as immoral and dishonest, but since *The Tele* chose to directly quote Grethe Rinnan’s somewhat limited English vocabulary, she comes across less intelligent than she might have. The criticism is perhaps seen more like an emotional outburst than something requiring an answer, so the paper does not bother to respond.

The shipping industry is also critical to Australia’s stubborn refusal to accept the refugees, and according to the deputy head of the Copenhagen based Baltic and International Maritime Council, Ove Tvedt, the *Tampa*’s captain did what he was supposed to do, maybe a little bit more. He is shocked by the Australian policy.

The focus of the article is *conflict* and *topicality*, and the conflict present in the text is that between Norway and Australia. This is due to Prime Minister John Howard no longer being the main source, as the other governments and interest organisations get plenty of space in which to explain their views, among these Norwegian sources. There is a shift in focus from the *Tampa* crisis only being about illegal immigration and Australia’s right to protect itself, to it being more about the situation of the *Tampa* crew and how the rest of the world sees it. Amnesty International is especially critical, stating that the proposed bill would cause a humanitarian tragedy. Through this discourse the organisation weakens the Government’s former argument, that the proposed bill was supposed to stop illegal immigrants and eventually work in favour of those found to be genuine refugees. As this article allows many different parties to convey their opinions, there is little by the way of *The Tele*’s discourse to be seen on the issue.



### 6.2.5 Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> August 2001

*Compassion and The Fair-Go Principle Lost at Sea. Commentary.*

According to Margo Kingston, the politicians, with Prime Minister John Howard and Opposition Leader Kim Beazley leading the way, have treated the *Tampa* crisis as an act of war by the boat people, something which has led to Australia being at war with Norway. It is a humanitarian discourse that comes to light in this text. Kingston defends the boat people's rights to come to Australia and does not understand the criticism against Captain Rinnan for taking them to Australia rather than Indonesia, who would only keep them in jail until another country took them in. She criticises not only the Government and the opposition, but also the public for their support. Kingston points out that there were suggestions of gunning down the boat people if they tried to land. She accuses Australia of being a "young nation", inexperienced. She tries to moderate Labor's support for the stand-off by pointing out that two Labor MPs have publically dissented. Liberal MP Petro Georgiou is quoted as saying that the Government's latest "get tough laws" to be debated in parliament this week would have seen Jews fleeing Nazi Germany turned away.

Kingston, in her commentary attempts to fill the myth Australia, a *floating signifier* in the discourse of the *Tampa* crisis, with negative content, claiming it is "inexperienced", "inhumane", "conservative", and "lacking compassion, empathy and decency". This discourse is an antagonism to the one used by Australian officials, who throughout the crisis repeatedly emphasises the humane and compassionate nature of the response. In contrast to a number of other political commentators, Kingston justifies the threats made by the refugees to make the captain take them to Australia. According to Kingston, "After their trauma, return to Indonesia (...) was unthinkable." She describes the situation in a dramatic manner, stating that the captain chose to save their lives, rather than have their deaths on his conscience. The nodal point *Tampa* is described as a "Ship-turned-prison", where men, (pregnant) women, and children, are suffering. The invasion of the ship by troops is described as an extreme action. Kingston concludes that "Clearly something primal is going on, something that hits to the heart of the Australian psyche." This statement indicates that she thinks the Australian public and the authorities act like animals rather than civilized people. She focuses on the normative aspect by urging Australia to make a choice about who they want to be. Kingston warns that by turning its back to the rest of the world in dealing with this issue, Australia might be entering a new

isolationism on global issues. She fears that the consequence of the standoff could be that Australia's prime minister and the Opposition Leader end up with blood on their hands.

#### 6.2.6 Dagbladet, Friday 31<sup>st</sup> August 2001

*A Miss by the Prime Minister. Commentary.*

Here Journalist Einar Hagvaag analyses the *Tampa* affair in a lengthy commentary. According to Hagvaag, things do not go totally according to plan for Prime Minister Howard. He just wanted to set an example, but he ended up sailing straight into a diplomatic storm, coming out at odds with Norway, Indonesia, the UN and almost all the rest of world. Hagvaag thinks that Howard is trying to repeat Margaret Thatcher's success when she went to war in the Falkland Islands. Like Thatcher, Howard and his party are doing badly in the polls, but Hagvaag points out that there is a considerable difference between starting a wars with a disliked military junta, and with a helpless group of refugees aboard a Norwegian ship. Howard's attempt to change the law was blocked in the Senate, and Opposition Leader (sic) and Labor-politician John Faulkner points out that the law would even have allowed the Australian Customs officers to shoot the captain. Hagvaag believes Howard's approach to the case lacks political analysis and insight.

He refers to the Australian media, where political commentators have been critical to the line taken. According to the *SMH*, Howard was outmanoeuvred by a Norwegian captain and the Norwegian Government, and put Indonesia in an unpleasant position, at just the time when he should have been relations. Hagvaag has trouble understanding how it is even possible to create a diplomatic crisis between Australia and Norway, two countries who had previously barely said an angry word to one another. He believes it is Captain Rinnan who is currently leading the election race- for the Australian Labor Party.

The text moves within a politically left-wing discourse. It is explicitly mentioned that Howard belongs to the Conservative Party, and he is put in the context of arch-conservative Thatcher. Howard is portrayed as unprofessional, and described exclusively by negative terminology: he has sailed straight into a diplomatic storm / he has clashed with Norway, Indonesia, the UN, humanitarian organisations and “almost all the rest of the world” / his election chances do not look good / his urge to show political vigour does not rest on policy analysis and insight / his clumsy diplomacy has created the crisis / he is outplayed by the Norwegian captain and Government / he made Indonesia uncomfortable.

The Australian Labor Party is portrayed as the voice of reason, among other things, by referring to Faulkner's "rhetorical backhander" where he pointed out that Howard's proposed legislation would have allowed the Australian Customs officers to shoot the captain. Howard is ridiculed for trying to win the election through waging a "war" against Norway and the shipwrecked refugees. Hagvaag generalises the views of the *SMH* as being the views of Australian political commentators as a whole. The discourse thus excludes other ways of defining Howard and Australian domestic policy.

Another discourse which is drawn on in the text is Australia as the "outback": a country that does things in its own specific way. The article refers to a heated discussion in Parliament, which according to Hagvaag is often characterised by "folksy Australian pub-culture". He refers to an incident which happened some years previously when a Member of Parliament referred to one of his peers as "as stupid as a koala bear". This was poorly received, not because of any insult to the Member of Parliament, but because it was an insult to the koala bear, Australia's national animal, writes Hagvaag. Australia is characterised as special, simple, a country where things are not considered thoroughly.

#### 6.2.7 The Daily Telegraph, Friday 31<sup>st</sup> August 2001

*Stateless and Stuck at our Door. Editorial.*

*The Daily Telegraph* takes a more pragmatic approach to the *Tampa* crisis. The paper assumes that very probably only a few of those aboard the *Tampa* are genuine refugees, but that "Quibbling over terminology is now pointless". This paradoxical message satisfies those who believe the *Tampa* refugees are not legitimate, while reprimanding those who are keen to differentiate between "illegal" and "genuine" refugees. *The Tele* claims the main goal must be to get the matter resolved, because regardless of whether the refugees are genuine, they can not remain aboard the ship, and there is nothing to gain by moving them out to sea. The Australian Government needs to find somewhere for them to go, otherwise Australia will have failed its humanitarian responsibilities. *The Tele*, in common with *Aftenposten*, draws attention to Australia's duty here.

At the same time, *The Tele* stresses that it is within Australia's rights to decide who crosses its border. But the editorial recommends that Australia take responsibility and set an example, and agrees with Opposition Leader Kim Beazley (ALP), who is pressing the

Government for a solution. The public in Australia seem impatient to get the *Tampa* out of Australian waters, but the paper calls on people to give thought to how they would react if some of the *Tampa*'s passengers died because they were shunned out to sea. The text that *The Tele* presents here is more analytical and less tabloid.

Despite criticising the Government's discourse of "illegals" and "genuine refugees", as well as the quick fix-attitude to the incident maintained by a majority of the public and the Government, the text suddenly becomes very patriotic in the latter part. Here, an attempt is made at defining the floating signifier *Australia* as a nation that has always fulfilled its obligations in terms of humanitarian responsibilities. "Critics of the stand-off" becomes another floating signifier, which is defined through negative terminology. They are defined as a "small number of international and local critics" who have turned their back on the problem of people smuggling, and through ignoring this aspect "seek to damage Australia's humanitarian record". This discourse brands the critics of the Government policy as biased and unfair, while maintaining the *myth* of Australia as a nation of high moral standing. Prime Minister Howard is a nodal point in the discourse, articulated as "proud and protective of Australia's humanitarian record". It is claimed that Howard is aware that pushing the *Tampa* back into the high seas is not a total resolution to the problem. Through this articulation, the paper disengages the *element* John Howard from the *element* the heavily criticised bill, and instead portrays the Prime Minister as a warm hearted and good person. *The Tele*'s discourse is thus in an antagonistic relationship with the two Norwegian newspapers' discursive subject matter, where Howard's moral values are questioned.

#### 6.2.8 Sydney Morning Herald Friday 31<sup>st</sup> August 2001

*Australia Fights to Save Face. Article.*

The *SMH* covers Australia's desperate attempts to come up with an arrangement for how to deal with the refugees. The efforts are described as "frantic". Indonesia has proved to be very inflexible, and this seems to be as expected, implying that it is not the first time Australia has had problems co-operating with them. Instead, the Government is negotiating with other countries including New Zealand. Norway has also not ruled out taking some of the asylum seekers. Although negotiating, Australia has rejected an invite from the UN for talks with Indonesia and Norway in Geneva.

Immigration minister Phillip Ruddock is quoted as saying nine hundred people are waiting in Indonesia, “Delaying their departure to see how this issue is resolved”. In contrast to *The Daily Telegraph*, the *SMH* quotes Ruddock rather than presenting his statement as a fact. This shows that the paper has a more critical approach to Government sources. The *SMH* quotes the immigration minister, who is trying to justify the Government’s actions in line with the increasing criticism. Ruddock argues that letting the people enter Australia sends a signal “For all of them to continue coming”. In saying this, the minister draw parallels to an invasion, creating an enemy image of the refugees. Indonesian authorities are cited as saying that they consider themselves a victim, and they deny any responsibility. According to Prime Minister Howard the Indonesians have rejected a proposal to discuss the crisis. A proposed weekend visit to Indonesia by the Foreign Affairs Minister and Immigration Minister has been postponed for a week.

The paper presents two antagonistic discourses of the procedure of seeking asylum. One is held by the Australian authorities, the other held by legal professionals. Ruddock’s spokesman understands that the boat people cannot apply for asylum until they reach the “low water mark”, whereas several international law experts maintain that the refugees are entitled to make protection claims once they enter Australian waters. This demonstrates that the *SMH*, by presenting an expert opinion that contradicts with the Government’s, refuses to uncritically convey the Government’s line. Ruddock attempts to maintain that the Government’s actions are humanitarian, and trivialises the seriousness of the situation by reporting that “The only medical treatment the doctor has reported today was for a broken fingernail and a cut thumb.” Through this discourse, Ruddock attempts to change the perception of the situation onboard the *Tampa*, by fixing this floating signifier to a subject matter that makes the situation on the ship seems less critical. This simultaneously changes the signifier ‘the stand-off’ to be more acceptable.

Opposition leader Kim Beazley has broken his bipartisan stance on the issue. He believes the *Tampa* should go to Indonesia, but admits that Australia has a “moral obligation”. Prime Minister John Howard, on the other hand, still defends the Australian approach, and through a war discourse states “We don’t retreat in any way from what we’ve done”. The Prime Minister is more successful in his communication than the Opposition Leader, who comes across as wavering. The article also refers to critical media reports abroad. *Aftenposten* is quoted as saying Australia “has won a reputation for being an international bully”. The shipping company Wilh. Wilhelmsen is threatening to take Australia to an international court if the *Tampa* is forced into

international waters. The ship's owners also react to Government claims that Captain Rinnan had faked a medical emergency. The nodal point Captain Rinnan has been fixed to moments such as "honest" and "heroic", and this discursive locking has gained *hegemony* since it has not been challenged by any of the conflicting discourses that constitute the order of discourse concerning the *Tampa* crisis. The Government's attempt at re-articulating "Captain Rinnan" to a subject matter that fixes his identity to moments such as "dishonest" and "calculated", is attacked by Wilhelmsen's Regional Director Peter Dexter. "[Mr Ruddock's comments] annoy me intensely. To say that somebody's assessment of the situation 24 or 36 hours earlier was wrong is, I think, a pretty harsh judgment", he is quoted as saying. Through this *hegemonic intervention*, Dexter attempts to reconstitute the discursive unambiguity, in this case Rinnan's integrity, by suppressing the alternative possibilities of meaning offered by the Australian Immigration Minister (Laclau 1993: 282, cited in Phillips & Jørgensen 2002: 48). By attacking Phillip Ruddock's judgement, Dexter makes the Government appear cynical.

## 6.3 Towards a Solution

This period covers four days, from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> of September. During this period the negotiations between Norway and Australia in the UN began to take shape, and in the end Prime Minister John Howard proposed a solution where the refugees' asylum applications would be processed in the Pacific island state of Nauru and in New Zealand. A human rights group in Australia brought the Australian Government to court, something which prevented a quick solution to the crisis.

### 6.3.1 Aftenposten Saturday the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2001

*"Shameful and Embarrassing" for Australia.*

The Australian media coverage of the *Tampa* crisis is the main topic of this article, and it thus operates on a meta-level. According to *Aftenposten*, the Australian newspapers are highly critical of Prime Minister Howard in their editorials and commentaries, whereas the readers' contributions online seem to show broad support for the Government among the general public. *Aftenposten* notes that political commentators in Australian newspapers seem to be guided more by ethical principles than knee-jerk reactions. The paper cites a disparaging editorial from *The Australian*, who claims the affair "Has degenerated from an offensive, inhumane embarrassment

into a complete crisis in terms of domestic and foreign policy.” The article also refers to reader contributions, which reflect a clear satisfaction with Howard’s policy. According to *Aftenposten*, the arguments in support of the Prime Minister stem from the shipwrecked being “Illegal immigrants”, and Indonesia and Norway being seen as responsible. According to NTB’s Sydney correspondent, however, support for Howard’s policy is on the brink of collapse.

*Aftenposten* also deposes the myth of Australia as a homogenous masse that has become Norway’s number one enemy. *Aftenposten* does however miss the point slightly when it chooses to generalise the opinions of Australian political commentators based on *The Australian*. My quantitative content analysis reveals that even the *SMH*, a newspaper that like *The Australian* defines itself as a quality newspaper, to a certain degree supported the stand-off by having an equal distribution of positive, negative and neutral editorials. *Aftenposten* has, in other words, based its analysis on a paper that is not very representative of the opinions of many Australian commentators. The *SMH* also reports *Aftenposten*’s coverage<sup>17</sup>, indicating that these papers tend to choose a counterpart with a matching inclination and style when looking at foreign coverage.

*Aftenposten* can be said to present this story through a class discourse by drawing distinctions based upon degree of intellect rather than nationality. A dichotomy is created between the academic elite in Australia on the one hand, and the rest of the public on the other. The political commentators are regarded as “one of us”, representing *reason*, while the Howard supporters represents a less thoroughly thought-through knee-jerk response.

### 6.3.2 *Aftenposten*, Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> September 2001

*Refugees Give Thanks for Rescue. Article.*

In a longer article, Norway’s ambassador to Australia, Ove Thorsheim, is interviewed after visiting the crew on board the *Tampa*. The ambassador is diplomatic and matter-of-fact when he talks about the negotiations between the countries. His main impression is that the situation is very well organised, and the mood and co-operation are good. He states that the situation onboard is “by no means serious”, contrary to earlier discourses from both the shipping company and the Norwegian authorities. He makes no attempt to mediate a conflict between the Australian military and the crew, but introduces a new discourse from the Norwegian authorities where Norway and Australia are now working together to bring about “a quick solution”. This testifies

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<sup>17</sup> See Fitzsimmons & Johanson (2001); Grattan et al. (2001).

that the crisis has entered a new phase, characterised by less polarization and more pragmatism. In response to a direct question, Thorsheim still maintains that “The only practical solution is for the refugees to disembark onto Christmas Island”, and he thus challenges the Australian Government's discursive attempt of establishing Christmas Island as an infeasible disembarkation point, an interpretation of the island that has been presented as a truth, a hegemonic discourse, in both the Australian newspapers. The ambassador says that the crew is tired but in good spirits. There has been progress in the refugees' health after the medical personnel came aboard, and the refugees have blankets, but the sanitary situation is described as "untenable". The crew are described as brave heroes. Captain Arne Rinnan is described as “a highly skilled sailor” with good control over the situation. The crew are tired and have been through what is described as a “stressful situation”, but according to the ambassador they do not complain. He does however admit that they “feel deceived” by Australia.

In the article we learn that the refugees have delivered a letter to the Norwegian ambassador, but he does not wish to comment upon its contents. Thorsheim emphasises that some of the refugees have been travelling for up to eight months, and had eaten very little in the days before the rescue. They were in a “terrible state” when they came on board, and are very grateful for everything the captain and crew have done for them, and that their lives had been saved. Through articulation, Thorsheim here fixes the refugees to a positive subject matter. His terminology bears little resemblance to “criminal queue-jumpers”, and stands in an antagonistic relation to the Australian political discourse.

### 6.3.3 Dagbladet, Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2001

– *I Have Never Been So Upset. Interview.*

*Dagbladet* interviews Foreign Minister Thorbjørn Jagland about the *Tampa* crisis. Here it is revealed that he received a phone call from the Foreign Minister Alexander Downer in the middle of the night, and in “rather coarse” language was asked, among other things, to stop the ship from entering Australian waters. Australia's Foreign Minister threatened to use military force against the *Tampa*. Through this articulation, Jagland describes Downer as savage, an enemy making threats, quite the opposite of civilized Norway. The article focuses on the feelings of both Jagland and his wife, quoting his wife Hanne Grotjord as saying that she notices that “this affair weighs upon him”. He is described as “indignant” and someone who “wasn't born yesterday”. This



establishes Jagland as a man of action, someone who takes security serious, and who will not be pushed around.

Given that the Norwegian parliamentary election is just days away, it could be alleged that Jagland uses the affair to gain votes. Jagland is praised in the article for being “unusually eloquent” when dealing with the international media. He says, among other things, “I know what the ocean is, and what should be done when someone is in distress”, which relates Jagland discursively to the *myth* of the Norwegian sailor, where the Captain Rinnan, also is to be found. Australia is dichotomised from Norway through the statement that “Australia has been a humanitarian country, but is now quite clearly taking another course.” The proposal to transport the refugees to Nauru and New Zealand is referred to as “prisoner transportation,” and Australia is described as “inhumane”.

Asked why Norway cannot accept the refugees, Jagland states that it is clear that this would undermine international law, and does not discuss the matter further. This is the same rhetoric as the Australian Government ministers use when they claim they have the law on their side. Jagland says that the shipping company has been asked by the Australian authorities to transport the refugees to Nauru and New Zealand. He explains with a sigh that the captain is in charge and he has declared that the ship unseaworthy. This creates an image of Australia, in contrast to the “sailor” Jagland, as not understanding even the most elementary aspects of the crisis, of the security issues and the role of the captain. Finally Jagland stresses the gravity of the situation by expressing his belief that the affair will go down in maritime history as an extraordinary event.

#### 6.3.4 The Sunday Telegraph 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 2001

*A Bold Display of Leadership. Editorial.*

*The Sunday Telegraph* praises Prime Minister Howard’s stand-off, calling it “An outstanding example of national leadership.” His refusal to allow *Tampa* to unload its human cargo on Australian soil is called “brave”, “timely”, and “totally in keeping with the sentiment of the vast majority of Australians”. The support of the majority is used as proof that the Government has acted correctly. The focus is again turned toward people smuggling, as opposed to the refugees’ suffering, or the tricky position that the crew of the *Tampa* was put in. The “laudable” decision to patrol the Indonesian coast to deter smugglers is, according to the *Sunday Telegraph* a

manifestation of how determined the PM is to stamp out people-smuggling. A large part of the editorial is devoted to discursively articulating the subject matter of the floating signifier “the *Tampa* crisis”. *The Tele* agrees with John Howard that the *Tampa* crisis has been about “Telling the pirates (...) that Australia’s patience has run out.” According to the paper, The *Tampa* episode was not about hurting the 460 people aboard, nor about Australia suddenly becoming a nation of “Heartless, intolerant xenophobes”.

*The Tele* also attempts to define the myth of Australia as a tolerant and good nation, by stating that it has “One of the proudest records of racial tolerance in the world.” According to the paper, Australia is nothing but a “Decent, merciful society, a model, multiracial nation, where people can practice their own religion and maintain their own culture.” Racists have no place in Australia, the paper stresses. This definition of Australia is an antagonism to the discourse present in several of the Norwegian pieces and some of the *SMH*’s pieces, which drew on earlier discourses from another order of discourse, specifically that of Australia as a racist country with the White Australia Policy and discrimination against aboriginal people. People of all nationalities are welcome in Australia, the paper continues, - as long as they arrive legally. This condition emphasises the importance of the distinction between “legals” and “illegals”. Through articulatory practice, the paper also attempts to stigmatise international commentators and leaders who criticise Australia, by stating that they are guilty of “ignorant posturing” and should be “condemned”. The UN is criticised for having told “A harmonious peaceful nation such as Australia how to behave”. In *The Telegraph*’s opinion, the UN needs to recognise that Australia has every right to act to secure its borders and territory. Through a war and security discourse, the paper thus defines the crisis as a case of border protection.

The paper stresses that the *Tampa* crisis is no victory for “extremist bigots” such as “the loony Hansonites”. By defining the Hansonites as racists, and by formerly stating that racists have no place in Australia, this party is placed among “the others”, as opposed to Prime Minister John Howard and Australia, who are “decent”. Opposition leader Kim Beazley is criticised for giving in, and lacking the “glory” of John Howard. According to *The Telegraph*, “Kim Beazley lost his nerve early on” and “should have maintained the bipartisan support”. This moves the paper over into a domestic-political discourse order. By emphasizing Beazley’s poor handling of the *Tampa* crisis, and ruling out Pauline Hanson’s One Nation, while praising Howard, Howard is depicted as the only worthy candidate in the election. Indonesia is also singled out as an enemy.

President Megawati has behaved disgracefully and *The Tele* is worried she might not be suitable for the job.

The editorial gives the impression that Australia has been left to take on the world by itself. Indonesia, Norway, and others thought they could boss Australia around, but for once Australia didn't give in, and the politicians listened to "The voice of the people". Australia seems united against external threats and in support of Howard; the discourse completely excludes the relatively large group of Australians who opposed the stand-off.

#### 6.3.5 The Sunday Telegraph, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2001

*Hardline PM Ends Crisis – Boat People Will Leave Tomorrow. Article.*

*The Telegraph* announces that the stand-off has ended, as New Zealand and Nauru have agreed to take the refugees. The "Pacific Solution" means asylum seekers will be transferred to Papua New Guinea by the navy ship HMAS Manoora. The solution is described as a "major victory" for Howard, as it means that the *Tampa's* asylum seekers will not set foot on Australian soil. The newspaper thus communicates its approval of the way Howard dealt with the crisis. Reference is made to an "exclusive interview" *The Sunday Telegraph* has conducted with Howard. "The processing had to take place outside Australia" Howard insists, without any justification from himself or the paper as to why. That the assertion is not challenged leads to an exclusion of antagonistic discourses such as the one from the Norwegian authorities, which maintained all along that it had been possible to bring the refugees ashore on Christmas Island. In the interview, Howard states that Australia will place warships off the coast of Indonesia to deter future people-smuggling attempts to Australia's north-west. According to *the Tele*, approximately five thousand more boat people are waiting in Indonesia to sail to Australia. Howard emphasises that "We cannot allow a situation where people can forcibly enter Australia and on the basis of that be entitled to claim refugee status." Howard thus creates an enemy image of the boat people by presenting them as a mass camped out in Indonesia waiting for a green light to enter Australia by force. By presenting them as "people", not refugees, he removes their special status and accompanying grounds for compassion.

The Prime Minister blames Indonesia for failing to crack down on people smugglers. Howard is quoted as saying "If Indonesia said 'From now on we won't let you [boat people] leave' ... then they wouldn't come [to Australia] in the first place". Through his discourse

Howard places all responsibility upon Indonesia, and considers the nation entirely responsible for the *Tampa* crisis having happened. When he also presents a “quick fix” to the problem, he implies that it is Indonesia's lack of *will* to stop the people smugglers which lies at the core of the problem. A dichotomy is created between Australia as pragmatic and ready to act, and Indonesia as indifferent and in denial of its responsibilities. The conflict has shifted from being a stand-off between the *Tampa* and Australia, to being a conflict between Australia and Indonesia.

*The Tele* yet again articulates the *Tampa* crisis through a military discourse. The paper frequently uses technological terminology such as “patrol and response operations”, “saturation surveillance zone”, “military aircraft” and “warships” in its detailed account of how operations will be carried out. Despite the fact that Howard attacks both Indonesia and the refugees, he is keen to define Australia as a country acting humanely, stating that “We seek, consistent with our decency, and within the law, to deter people from coming to this country in these boats.” Here Howard supports the myth of Australia as a “decent” country, that takes responsibility and acts legally and “in a humane fashion”, a myth that opponents, both domestically and internationally have attempted to re-articulate over the last week, and which he must therefore revive.

#### 6.3.6 Sydney Morning Herald, Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2001

*Howard's 'Pacific Solution' All At Sea. Article.*

Prime Minister John Howard has finally come up with a plan for how to process the refugees. The asylum seekers will be transported to Port Moresby and then flown to New Zealand and the tiny Pacific Island state of Nauru. This article's main theme is the federal court hearing, between the Government and humanitarian groups, on whether the Government can remove the refugees from Australian waters. The day before, the Government placed a 5.4 nautical mile air-exclusion zone around the *Tampa*. This is described by the *SMH* as “A desperate attempt to prevent the asylum seekers setting foot on Australian soil”. The paper stresses the difference between the symbolic act of stepping ashore and the actual process of being admitted to the country. The Government has turned the debate from a question of responsibility to a question of whether they should set foot on Australian soil.

Australia is paying for Nauru to assess the refugees but Howard will not reveal the total cost. He does, however, state that processing each person on Christmas Island would have cost a total of AUD\$22 million. The Prime Minister, by saying this, gives the impression that the

pacific solution is cost effective. This is contradicted by documents from the federal court in Melbourne which show that the military operation has already cost approximately AUD\$20 million, more than it would cost to detain the refugees for over a year. By revealing that the PM appears to be misleading the public by withholding information, the Prime Minister's integrity is questioned.

The article's only quote from Howard regarding the solution is that he calls it "a truly Pacific solution". He thus comes across as vague. The secretary of the immigration department, William Farmer, has in court admitted that no decision has been made on who will process the people, what rights of appeal might exist, and whether Nauruan law might apply to them. Furthermore he admits that Nauru has not signed the international convention on refugees. By reporting these statements from Government officials, the *SMH* emphasises how poorly thought-through the plan is. In addition, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, Norwegian officials, the UN High Commissioner for refugees, the Opposition Leader Kim Beazley, and the Norwegian foreign minister, Thorbjørn Jagland are all given an opportunity to criticise the solution. Kofi Annan is quoted as saying that he would have preferred that Australia accepted the refugees in the first place. Kim Beazley conveys his worry that Australia has ended up as a "Diminished nation in the eyes of the world". Foreign minister Jagland calls Australia's plan "inhumane". The main floating signifier in the text is the Pacific solution, which is described very negatively by all sources except the Australian Government. The *SMH* thus presents the solution as very controversial; something which separates the newspaper from the *Sunday Telegraph*, where Howard is praised for the way he has solved the *Tampa* crisis. That the *SMH* is negative to the solution is also emphasised by the headline.

#### 6.3.7 Dagbladet, Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> September 2001

##### *Refugees for Sale. Commentary.*

Australia has paid its way out of taking responsibility for the 434 refugees who were on board the *Tampa*. Should refugees be a "growth industry" for poor countries? is the question posed by Jan-Erik Smilden. The rhetoric portrays Australia as a capitalist country, and contains terms such as "buy," "for sale" "rich" "poor" and "material things". Smilden has little confidence that Nauru President Rene Harris is telling the truth when he claims Nauru is not accept the refugees for the money. Nauru is described as poor, and it is emphasised that a poor country can make a profit by

taking a group of refugees as Nauru has done. Norwegian asylum policy is portrayed as an ideal: the Government pays for expensive asylum centres, legal assistance and financial support to the refugees.

The myth of Norway as a “virtue regime” is re-emphasised, in a discourse that separates “us” from other parts of the world, especially the poorest countries. Dumping asylum seekers in this way is compared to rich countries sending contaminated refuse to the third world- while this initially created huge protests, it now goes largely unnoticed. In addition to breaking laws and regulations, Smilden claims that the Government buys votes and popularity by paying their way out of international obligations. By articulating this “crime” together with the fact that the Government in Australia is conservative, the article operates within a discourse that characterises “conservative” as a negatively loaded term. This is emphasised further by drawing Party Chairman Carl I. Hagen of the Progress Party (Frp) into the debate. Hagen has proposed establishing asylum centers in Asia and Africa and Smilden believes that this is a sign that Hagen does not want to have “these people” in Norway. He believes that most sensible people should be nauseated at the thought of refugees and asylum seekers as a growth industry in poor countries, and makes it clear with this that supporters of these ideas are the opposite: not so sensible.

The *Tampa* crisis is in this commentary a theme that is seen in the light of the Norwegian election campaign, and the Norwegian political discourse order, and *Dagbladet* aligns itself with the left by grouping right wing Norwegian politicians and Australia as “the others”. According to Smilden, nobody “will (...) have anything to do with Australia’s exclusion of the *Tampa* refugees.” This underlines how disliked the Government has become in the international community and in the UN.

#### 6.3.8 Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*Canberra Blue Boys Lack Intelligence to Stem the Tide. Commentary.*

In a highly critical commentary, foreign editor Hamish McDonald does not try to hide his incredulity at Australia’s panic over the *Tampa*’s refugees. He articulates nearly all the nodal points that constitute floating signifiers in the discourse order of the *Tampa* crisis antagonistically from the Australian Government. He insinuates that Prime Minister Howard has consciously breached the 1951 refugee convention, and stresses that pulling back from international treaties does not work unless you are a superpower like the United States. He thus tries to portray

Howard as a leader who overestimates Australia's international significance, someone who lacks good judgement. Furthermore, McDonald refers to legal experts, who advise that once the *Tampa* entered Australian territorial waters, they were as good as on Australian soil. He also finds it very unlikely that the boat people did not mention "refugee" after the SAS troops boarded the ship. He thereby implies that Australia has not met its responsibility regarding processing asylum requests.

Howard is described as "Desperate to be helped out of his self-made crisis". Although New Zealand has helped Australia out, McDonald is convinced that this is an act of sympathy for the rescued boat people rather than to support Howard. Howard's attempt to get East Timor, a country still under UN transitional administration, to provide a transit centre, serves in McDonald's opinion as evidence of how desperately and irrationally the Prime Minister is acting. The Prime Minister portrayed as having cynically taken advantage of small Pacific states such as Papua New Guinea and Nauru. By fixing the signifier Pacific Solution to a negative element like "bribe", a word generally used within fraud or crime discourses, McDonald suggests the deal is illegal. Howard is additionally referred to as "shameless" when pushing this solution onto the region within a month of his failure to attend the annual Pacific Islands Forum summit on Nauru. The only way in which Howard benefits from this "ruthless exploitation" of these poor countries, is according to McDonald that he may make a domestic-political gain.

McDonald argues that the Australian frigates that constitute the Navy cordon around Australia's northern approaches will only make the asylum seekers scuttle their boats, when they see them. He thus re-articulates that this measure is not the preventive agent that the Government portrays it as, it is in fact an encouragement to the boat people. McDonald believes money would be better spent on intelligence operations that would track the activities of people smugglers. Indonesia is, for once, described as "Quite cooperative, within (...) limits". He emphasises that immigration minister Philip Roddick is wrong when he paints a picture of millions in Indonesia waiting to take to the seas.

McDonald tries to look at the bigger picture, something that involves addressing the problems in the countries from which these refugees have originated. He recommends putting pressure on Pakistan and using Iran to pressure the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraq. These efforts, in contrast to the Howard Government's quick fix, require patient and complex diplomacy, together with delicate intelligence work. By communicating the *Tampa*

crisis through this discourse, McDonald attempts to rise above the over-simplistic approach of both the Government and the majority of Australians.

## 6.4 The Aftermath

In this final phase, the crisis had been solved from a Norwegian point of view. In Australia however, a trial was underway to determine whether it was a breach of Australian law to process asylum seekers outside national borders. It was also still uncertain whether the refugees could be transported out of Australia, so the public debate continued.

### 6.4.1 Aftenposten Monday 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2001

*Week of Shame for Australia. Editorial.*

One week after the rescue was completed, this editorial proclaims that it has been a “Week of shame for Australia”. The newspaper states that Australian authorities have “Revealed themselves as a more ruthless and intolerant regime than anyone outside the island nation had imagined possible for a country of western cultural traditions.” *Aftenposten* points out that it is bizarre to be forced to place Australia, a Western country, in the group “others”, together with dictatorships and other countries we cannot identify with as “one of us”. The newspaper furthermore states that the stand-off is part of Australia's conservative Prime Minister John Howard's election strategy.

Australia's actions are described as “brutal”, and *Aftenposten* fears that shipowners and seafarers worldwide may think twice before following the excellent example of seamanship shown by Captain Rinnan and his crew in the past week. The last “act” in the *Tampa* crisis is that the refugees have reluctantly agreed to the Australian plan that they will be transported to Papua New Guinea by ship, then onward by air to New Zealand and Nauru. By referring to an “act”, *Aftenposten* points out how the case has evolved into a *drama*, possibly even a *farce*. *Aftenposten* describes the recent events through a humanitarian discourse, where among other things it is pointed out that the solution is forcibly imposed on the refugees by a Government that does not take into account international law or the refugees' humanitarian needs. Sharp criticism is directed at politicians who are more concerned with pandering to their citizens' hostility towards foreigners and xenophobia than in taking care of human beings in need. This editorial generalises more in relationship to Australia than the previous articles. The newspaper agrees with Foreign



Minister Thorbjørn Jagland that Australia's course of action undermines the UN Refugee Convention, and believes Jagland has every right to be upset over Australia's threats to use military power against the *Tampa*. That *Aftenposten* aligns itself with the Labor Party's foreign minister, while also pointing out that Howard is a conservative, places *Aftenposten* outside its traditional political position to the right of the Labour Party. Note, however, that there was unanimous consensus between the Norwegian Government and the opposition in this matter (Dagbladet 2001b; Ruud & Magnus, 2001).

*Aftenposten* points out that it is brutal to send so many refugees to a small island like Nauru, and sending 300 refugees to Nauru is compared to sending one million refugees to Australia. The paper regrets that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) does not have more power in a situation such as this. The High Commissioner has throughout the crisis maintained that the asylum seekers on the *Tampa* should be taken to the nearest port, and *Aftenposten* states that this is Christmas Island. *Aftenposten* does not enter the discussion around terminology such as "Nearest port" and "Nearest feasible" port, something that the Australian Government consistently refer to when accusing Captain Rinnan (by not going to Merak, Indonesia), of breaking the law. "Nearest port" is one of the most important floating signifiers in the *Tampa* crisis, and the various players compete to define this crucial concept.

#### 6.4.2 The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*Buying Votes With our Good Name. Commentary.*

Here Mark Day is extremely critical to Howard's stand against the Afghani boat people. He calls Howard an "Absurd pig-headed bully, who has demeaned this nation and costs us dearly in dollars and cents in decency." Day admits that the majority of the population do not share his opinion, but believes he is right in predicting that the ones who will end up paying the bill are the very people who shouted longest and loudest to keep the refugees out of the country. He calls the *Tampa* crisis a farce, which has come about because Howard aims to win the election by turning over "Xenophobic One Nation votes that were lost during the last election".

Day accuses Howard of falsely provoking national security fears and for sending ships, planes, boats, helicopters, and the toys of warmongers to the battle zone to protect the national borders. He calls the stand-off a "Delusional act of a petty man", implying that the Prime Minister has deceived the Australian people. He sees the rest of the world as civilized, and the

refugees as victims. Day is not impressed by the talk radio hosts who have “Whipped up a frenzy of fear of Muslim hordes who are descending upon us to rape our daughters”. Through a leftist discourse, he creates an enemy image of right wing politicians, populist media, and One Nation on one side, opposing the rest of the world and the Australian political left on the other.

According to Day, John Howard was lucky that Nauru and New Zealand decided to take the refugees. This stands in contrast to previous claims about Howard’s successful handling of the event, made by the same newspaper (Akerman, 28.08.01). Here, Howard is instead portrayed as calculated and cynical, and he points out how ridiculous the Pacific solution is, because it allows refugees who are found to be legitimate to come to Australia anyway. In addition, Australia will pay all costs to both countries. Day points out that the legal establishment is critical to the stand-off and he is thankful that Australia has a proper legal system to balance Howard’s “Shabby, draconian, dictatorial, and possibly unlawful attempt to introduce retrospective legislation to legalise his actions.” Day believes that Howard has stirred up racial and religious hatred and has turned his back on Australia’s international obligations. This commentary is very different from nearly all the other opinionated pieces in my selection. The *Tampa* crisis is defined as a power struggle between the political wings rather than a fight against people smuggling.

#### 6.4.3 Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*Migrant Failure Stories Inspired Passions Over the Tampa. Commentary.*

In a commentary, Paul Sheehan asks: “Are Australians xenophobic, or simply fed up as a result of crime and unemployment among some Middle Eastern migrants?” Sheehan is of the opinion that the majority of Australians seem unimpressed by how a large Muslim population has been brought into Australia with “Barely a shred of consultation or consent”. By stating this, he challenges the “politically correct” readership of the paper, something he acknowledges by writing “I might be wrong, and you may think I should shut up about this even if I’m right”.

Sheehan bases his impression of the Australian public’s view on Muslim immigrants upon a poll from channel 9 where 95% of 138 000 phone votes agreed that Australia was right in denying entry to the *Tampa* refugees. Sheehan recognises that the readers of the *SMH* diverge from the average Australian opinion on the topic, as about 75% the 1900 letters received on the subject were critical to the decision to exclude the *Tampa*. Sheehan asks people to bear in mind that Howard has reflected the will of the people in this matter. He makes a distinction between

genuine refugees waiting their turn and those who attempt to morally blackmail Australia. He calls the accusations that have repeatedly been made of Australians being xenophobic and selfish a harsh view. Sheehan points to social economic statistics that show that in the past fifteen years, it is mostly immigration and refugee streams from the Middle East that have caused social problems. By claiming that these people are the most welfare dependant group in Australia, the Middle Easterns are portrayed as a burden on Australian society.

The author fails to consider that accepting these immigrants into the country is an act of humanity. This group is seen as violent, poor, and dependant on welfare, without giving anything back to society. Anecdotal evidence such as “Many Australians believe” and “In the dozens of e-mails I’ve received” serve to justify claiming that the increased amount of Lebanese people has led to more racism and anti-semitism. An enemy image is created of Middle Easterns, which serves to justify the Government’s stand-off. Sheehan refers to a woman who was raped by Lebanese Australians, and who claimed that the racial aspect of the crimes had been suppressed. One of the rapists had allegedly told her “You deserve it because you’re an Australian”. Through this discourse, Sheehan portrays Australia as the victim. Rather than describing the Government’s contribution to the suffering of the *Tampa* refugees, the refugees are articulated into a discourse that links them to Lebanese rapists, and sees a multicultural Australia as an increasing problem.

#### 6.4.4 Dagbladet Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> September 2001

##### *Don’t Want To Be Heroes*

The *Tampa* docked in Singapore, where a large press corps awaited them. It is first when the crew sees all the newspapers that they realise how much coverage the affair has received. The massive attention from the press is something the crew would rather have avoided, according to Information Director Hans Chr. Bangsmoen in Wilh. Wilhelmsen. They realise, however, that the world’s press needs their story, and they are willing to hold a press conference, he continues. The press conference is in other words a duty the crew are fulfilling, and it is not fuelled by any desire to attract attention. The article reports that the entire crew has chosen to continue their journey, even though they were given the offer of being replaced by another crew. This builds upon their image of being strong and proud sailors who have not been broken by the crisis.

Bangsmoen says that there has been great interest from the Australian press in Singapore, and that he will make sure that they get access to the captain and crew at the press conference.

This indicates that he was aware of the way Australia's Government controlled the flow of information during the crisis (NSW Anti-Discrimination Board 2003: 46). The main nodal point in Bangsmoen's discourse is the crew, who are re-enforced as a group of sober, down to earth, modest and strong Norwegians. Through discursive practice he maintains this already hegemonic discourse.

#### 6.4.5 The Daily Telegraph, Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*Media, UN Take Refuge in a Hatred for Howard. Commentary.*

In a commentary, Pierce Akerman serves as a spokesman for the Government, asking why Australia is receiving unwarranted criticism for "Its justified handling of the *Tampa* issue". He accuses media such as the *New York Times* and the *ABC* of being biased. The former wrote that the refugees were stranded for days on the deck of the *Tampa* without food or medical care. Akerman dismisses this as a lie, and thus shows that he is in denial of the days between Captain Rinnan's SOS and the Australians providing assistance. Akerman is now "awaiting an apology" from these media. Although he shakes his head at these "false claims", he fails to explain why they are an incorrect account of the events.

Akerman goes on to brand the local representative of the UNHCR, Marissa Bandharangshi, as "One of the less valuable voices on refugee issues", after she on *ABC* attempted to cast doubt on the fact that Australia is the second most generous recipient of refugees. According to Akerman, by agreeing that Australia was low on the list of nations which allowed "wannabe refugees" over its border, she has allowed herself to be exploited by the national broadcasting service, *ABC*. Akerman maintains the Government's discourse, which draws a distinct line between legal and illegal refugees. The *ABC* serves as one of the nodal points in Akerman's patriotic, right wing discourse, and he described it as "Obsessed with its hatred for the Howard Government."

Akerman's reasoning in this text appeals absolutely not to logos, only to pathos. He employs an extremely tabloid style, where the subject matter is portrayed as strictly black and white. He claims the Government's actions were justified, but prioritises creating enemy images of everyone critical to the stand-off and to the Government's immigration policy, rather than actually providing evidence to back up his claims.

#### 6.4.6 Aftenposten Friday 7<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*The Whole Situation Was Quite Unreal. Article.*

This last article covers the press conference held by the *Tampa* crew the day after they arrived in Singapore. Along with *Dagbladet*, *Aftenposten* stresses the down-to-earth nature of the crew, by reporting that the crew told their story in a simple, intimate way. This makes their story extra powerful, according to *Aftenposten*. Central to the story is a humanitarian discourse, which focusses upon pregnant women, crying children, desperate, ill, weak, semi-conscious people. People threw up over the deck, over themselves and over each other. “A bit disgusting at times,” is as far as second machinist Kai Nolte goes when it comes to putting words to the dramatic experience.

*Aftenposten*’s report carries a greater impression of seriousness and criticism than the *SMH*’s coverage of the press conference, where the main focus was what a humorous bunch the crew was. Captain Rinnan is given an extensive opportunity to explain how he received information from the harbour master that a boat was en-route to help deal the shipwrecked. Only when it was too late did he realise that this was not humanitarian aid, but rather armed soldiers. “Everyone gave us assistance, except for Australia” says the captain, using words like “surprised and disappointed” to describe his reaction to the Australian Government’s stance. It is emphasised however that the heroes do not criticise Australia directly. It could be interpreted that to sink to this level would be below them.

First Officer Grete Bugge admits that the drama was at times a strain, and stresses particularly the powerlessness of not being able to do more for the refugees. Rinnan is modest as he shrugs off suggestions that he behaved heroically. “All I did was my job, to save people in distress” he says, adding that he “hopes any sailor would have acted the same way”. Chief Officer Maltau takes advantage of this opportunity to emphasize the tough working conditions in the profession: “That’s the way it is at sea. You have to constantly be prepared for anything” he says. The discourse that this press conference is communicated through is first and foremost humanitarian, and in addition both *Aftenposten* and the crew draw upon the discourse of Norway as the ‘Good Samaritan’ (Tvedt 1995: 17; 2003: 22).

#### 6.4.7 Sydney Morning Herald, Friday 7<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*What The Captain Saw- A View Simply Unreal. Article.*

In Singapore, the *SMH* reports from the *Tampa* crew's press conference that took place the day before. The crew members, represented by Captain Rinnan and Chief Officer Maltau, describe their version of drama that unfolded, from when the rescue operation began to when the passengers were loaded onto the *Minoora* ten days later.

It is apparent that this is the first time the *SMH* has access to all the information about the rescue operation, details which the Norwegian newspapers had long since reported.

Captain Rinnan, has from the beginning been portrayed in the Norwegian newspapers as a clear hero. He symbolises morality, modesty and vigor, and has emerged as a manifestation of the prevailing *Norwegian self-image* (Tvedt 1995: 12). The *SMH* chooses, however, heroes using other criteria, and describes Chief Officer Maltau as "The saga's unsung hero". Maltau is physically strong, two metres tall, a stereotypical sailor. According to Maltau, the rescue operation was tough, involving him having to physically lift all the refugees onto the *Tampa's* deck from the *Palapa*, which was bouncing around and taking a beating. By focusing on Maltau, the *SMH* creates *proximity* to the crew, and the description of Maltau is not totally unlike stereotypical perceptions of Australians.

The crew come across as positive and humorous, and they do not appear especially critical, but Maltau is quoted as saying they were "pawns" in a larger political game. The *SMH* focuses on the news value *sensation*, using words such as "surreal", "strange", "mortified", "amazing", "bizarre". The majority of the article deals with practical aspects of the rescue operation and housing and feeding the refugees. This stands in stark contrast to *Aftenposten's* article about the same press conference, where the crew were presented in a much more serious manner, and the compassion the crew had for the shipwrecked was a main point. The *SMH* completely excludes the humanitarian discourse, and focuses instead on small details like that the container where toilets were rigged "was still a bit smelly." The article recognises that "The ship became the centre of an international stand-off that brought Australia international condemnation." Nonetheless, both the standoff and the refugees' fate is a non-issue in this article.

## 6.5 Summary

*Dagbladet* communicated the story through a Norwegian humanitarian discourse from day one, and showed great understanding for the refugees' situation. The paper also showed considerable concern for the *Tampa* crew, and had great admiration for Captain Arne Rinnan. Enemy images were created of Australia, as the crisis was primarily covered as a conflict between Norway and Australia. *Dagbladet* also took the opportunity to place the matter into a political discourse that described the political right wing as ruthless capitalists, thereby implicating support for the Labour Government just before the Norwegian election.

*Aftenposten* was initially critical to the refugees, and created enemy images of them, but the paper quickly became very critical of the Australian Government, and in common with *Dagbladet*, was concerned about the humanitarian aspect of the stand-off and fully supported the crew. *Aftenposten* focused to a greater extent upon the legal aspects of the affair. The newspaper was however careful to emphasise that public opinion was divided in Australia, and thus did not form an enemy image of the country as a whole, but rather the Government. *Aftenposten* refrained from articulating the crisis through a political discourse, which may be because the newspaper has traditionally been politically conservative, and it was therefore less appropriate for the paper to attack the right-wing Australian Government.

*The Daily Telegraph* covered the *Tampa* crisis as a matter of Australian immigration policy, domestic politics, and national security, and portrayed the *Tampa* and its human cargo as a threat, using a war and conflict discourse. The method used by the refugees to flee Afghanistan, and the threatening behaviour they displayed after Captain Rinnan attempted to take them to Indonesia, was used to justify stigmatising them as "illegal" and "criminals" by the paper. Enemy images were created of Norway, Indonesia, the UN, and parts of the political landscape, mainly those to the left of Prime Minister John Howard's Government. Howard's actions were described as necessary, well-considered, a last resort, legal, and legitimate. The refugees onboard the *Tampa* were to a considerable degree demonised and pre-judged as non-legitimate queue jumpers who had unfairly paid their way to the front of the immigration queue.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* was the more cautious of the two Australian newspapers when it came to apportioning blame and making criticism. The newspaper came across as an intellectual voice of reason, committed to rendering the course of events in a correct manner. It drew partly on a *humanitarian discourse*, where the actions of the Government were considered

unacceptable, and partly on a *pragmatic, political discourse*, where the objective was to find not only a solution in this specific case, but also to the wider problem of the increasing number of boats of refugees arriving from Indonesia. In contrast to the more Australia-centric perspective of *The Tele*, the *SMH* emphasised the need for Australia to cooperate internationally. The newspaper showed some support for the Government's stand-off in the first phase, but the majority of the articles in the discourse analysis were critical to, or challenged, the Government's approach to the crisis. In contrast to *The Tele*, the political commentators mostly avoided uncritically adopting the rhetoric of the Government, and enemy images of Norway were absent.

## 7 Conclusion

The objective of this thesis has been to examine *how the Tampa crisis was covered in two Australian and two Norwegian newspapers*. A secondary goal has been to investigate whether the event was reported similarly in the two opposing countries, or if nationalism slanted the media coverage. Furthermore, the focus of this paper has been to point out cultural, political and social conditions and factors that may have determined the way the four newspapers covered the case.

### 7.1 Politicians on the offensive

In the introduction chapter, I presented a number of variables I thought would affect the coverage. The first hypothesis was that *the political powers in both countries adopted an aggressive media position to show their political muscle*. The Norwegian parliamentary elections took place less than two weeks after the conflict started, and the Australian general election would take place in November the same year, so it was natural to assume that politicians in both countries wanted to demonstrate their capabilities in the media in order to win votes.

The findings from both the quantitative content analysis and the discourse analysis confirmed that politicians were on the offensive during the *Tampa* crisis. Politicians and officials were the most frequently cited sources in all four newspapers, and the discourse analysis reveals highly charged rhetoric coming from politicians such as then Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjorn Jagland (Ap), Australia's Prime Minister John Howard (Lp), Australian Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock (Lp), and Australian Opposition Leader Kim Beazley (Alp).



## 7.2 Patrioism and Enemy Images

My next hypothesis was that *the Australian newspapers were likely to support Prime Minister John Howard, while the Norwegian newspapers would be very critical to the stand-off, providing there was no disagreement within the ruling elite*<sup>18</sup>. Australia's stand-off met opposition from the United Nations and a storm of international criticism (Mares 2002: 125; Svabø 2002: 96), a factor I thought would lead to an increase in Australian national unity. In addition, Howard had broad popular support throughout the crisis, leading me to believe that the chances were high that this would, at least to some extent, be reflected in the media. Australia's refusal to assist a Norwegian ship in distress was highly criticised in Norway, therefore I also assumed that the Norwegian media would *construct enemy images of Australia*. I also expected that *Australian newspapers would construct enemy images of the shipwrecked, whereas Norwegian newspapers would generally avoid creating enemy images of the shipwrecked*. Creating enemy images of Afghan refugees who the Norwegian crew had heroically rescued and were doing their best to help would conflict with the values that the Norwegian social democracy is built upon (Leira, 2007). In Australia, there was already a debate about the problem that immigrants, especially Muslims from the Middle East, were creating for Australian society (Manning 2004: 45).

These hypotheses were confirmed in the quantitative content analysis, and verified further in the theoretical discourse analysis. The Norwegian newspapers described Australia as having "Set itself outside the civilized world". The country was compared to "20th century tyrants" (Dagbladet 2001), and called a "bully" (Aftenposten 2001). The enemy image, which the Norwegian newspapers formed of Australia, can be said to be *situational*, since it relates to a specific incident, rather than being a more established enemy image which has evolved over time (Höjelid 1991:112, cited in Ottosen 1994: 84). Inter-discursivity was however located between the antiquated perception of Australia as a racist country, which has gradually declined following the termination of the White Australia Policy and more rights being granted to Aborigines, and the discourses which the Norwegian newspapers -in some of their pieces- drew upon in their coverage of the *Tampa* crisis.

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<sup>18</sup> Figure 22 & 23, inspired by the ideological model of the Iraq War (Carpentier, 2008) serve as an illustration of how the Australian and Norwegian authorities communicated the *Tampa* crisis (Appendix 2).

With a few exceptions, *The Daily Telegraph* confirmed my hypothesis. The paper became a mouthpiece for the authorities, and uncritically adapted and passed on the enemy images created by Australian Government officials of the boat people, through terminology such as “queue-jumpers,” “illegals” and “people smugglers”. By way of contrast, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, turned out to be relatively critical to Prime Minister John Howard's stand-off, and could be said to stand in an antagonistic relationship to its counterpart. Although the paper devoted a good deal of space to Australian politicians' views of the affair in their articles, *SMH* gave expert sources room to refute or balance the claims from official sources. Although critical, elements of *othering* of the shipwrecked were still to be found in the *Sydney Morning Herald*<sup>19</sup>, and the plight of the refugees seemed subordinate to the legal issues and concerns for the international criticism which the stand-off had created.

### 7.3 Polarised tabloids

The last hypothesis I presented in the introduction was that the media type would shape the media coverage, and *I expected more polarisation, escalation of the conflict, parallels to war and conflict reporting and personal focus in the tabloid media than in the quality papers.*

This hypothesis also proved to be correct. National allegiance became very evident in the tabloid newspapers, particularly in the editorials. *Dagbladet* and *The Daily Telegraph* were polarised and used strong terminology, while *Aftenposten* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* were more measured both in their criticism and support. *Aftenposten* used a good deal of column space to differentiate between the Australian authorities and the academic elite, which the newspaper correctly observed as forming two different camps in the Australian debate, while *Dagbladet* increased newsworthiness through *simplification* (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) of the conflict, thus to a larger degree making Australia (as a whole) out to be the antagonist. The tabloids' personal focus was evident in the use of sources: the crew's next of kin were used as sources in both papers, whereas the broadsheets did not use them at all. This personal focus led to a greater degree of *proximity* and *identification* in the tabloid newspapers.

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<sup>19</sup> An example is Sheehan, 2001.

## 7.4 Conflicting countries – conflicting perspectives?

The significant interest the Australian public took in the *Tampa* crisis manifested itself in the 333 letters about the conflict published by the two Australian newspapers during the analysis period. Since the incident took place much closer to Australia than to Norway, the criterion of *geographical proximity* could conceivably account for greater public interest in the affair and a lot more coverage (Allern 2001: 55).

Yet another possible reason for the imbalance in quantity is that the affair did not carry the same implications for Norwegian and Australian society. The *Tampa* crisis did not become part of the election campaign in Norway, as there was a bipartisan consensus over the Government's stance (Dagbladet 2001b; Ruud & Magnus, 2001). Had there been disagreement between the political parties, leading to the crisis being part of the political agenda during the pre-election campaign, this might have generated more news content in the Norwegian press.

The Norwegian papers communicated the *Tampa* crisis as a dispute between Norway and Australia over a Norwegian ship that ended up in distress after it had responded to an Australian Search and Rescue request, and Australia refused to assist it. After the *Tampa* offloaded the refugees, the issue quickly disappeared from the Norwegian media. In Australia, important political policies and matters of principle such as immigration legislation, legal international obligations and the general election, hung in the balance, and the affair continued to be front page news in the Australian newspapers for a longer period. The conflict between Norway and Australia was less visible, and more attention was devoted to Indonesia's role, an aspect that was more or less neglected by the Norwegian papers. The Norwegian papers did not direct any resentment toward Indonesia, even though Indonesia also did nothing to help the *Tampa*. The Norwegian papers very possibly regarded Indonesia as one of "the others", a country that violates human rights, and therefore is not expected to uphold the same high moral standards as Western countries.

The two Australian papers followed each other closely when it came to variables such as "quantity" and "genre", but in the content there was, as mentioned above, a major discrepancy in bias and use of sources. The coverage in *Aftenposten* and *Dagbladet* was more similar both in terms of quantity and content, but the criticism of the Australian Government was to some extent expressed through different discourses. In *Dagbladet*, the *humanitarian discourse* was dominant, as was the *political right vs. left discourse*. *Aftenposten* also communicated the *Tampa* crisis

through a humanitarian discourse, but the paper in addition drew on *legal discourses* and an *elite discourse* in its coverage. These differences notwithstanding, it was hard to find dramatic differences between these two newspapers.

## **7.5 Does the Tampa crisis verify Hallin & Mancini's three models?**

The extent and nature of state intervention in the media is one of the variables Hallin & Mancini considered when they created their three models, detailed in chapter 3.1 (Hallin & Mancini 2004:21-45). Based on Hallin & Mancini's media systems theory, one might expect that the Norwegian newspapers as part of the Democratic Corporatist Model would act as autonomous parties in the coverage of the *Tampa* crisis. Hallin & Mancini note a high level of professionalism found in these countries, where instrumentalisation of the media is almost non-existent (Hallin & Mancini 2004:175-176). From the analysis of *Aftenposten* and *Dagbladet*, little indicates that the Norwegian authorities tried to put constraints on how the Norwegian newspapers interpreted the subject matter, although both papers did largely agree with the authorities.

I would prefer to argue that the prevailing agreement between the Norwegian authorities and the Norwegian newspapers throughout the crisis should be seen in light of the Democratic Corporatist Model. As representatives of this media system, *Dagbladet* and *Aftenposten* covered the *Tampa* crisis in accordance with an ideology concerning a feeling of responsibility for welfare and inclusion of all citizens and groups (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 196-197). Looking at the Norwegian "Use Caution" code ("Vær varsom-plakaten") there are two specific points that the Norwegian newspapers seemed eager to fulfil in the *Tampa* crisis. One is "To uncover and disclose matters which ought to be subjected to criticism". The other is "To protect individuals and groups against injustices or neglect, committed by public authorities and institutions, private concerns, or others" (Allern 2001:10-11).

The Australian newspapers had tougher working conditions than their Norwegian counterparts. The Government put restrictions on information and prevented the newspapers from contacting the *Tampa* (Burnside 2002: 19; NSW Anti-Discrimination Board 2003: 55; Ward 2002: 23). Jones & Pusey argue that *clientalism* - instrumentalisation of both public and private media - is common, well known and much tolerated in Australia (Jones & Pusey 2009: 9). Even though the authorities restricted access to information during the *Tampa* crisis, and successfully

created a political *spin* adapted by the majority of the Australian media (NSW Anti-Discrimination Board 2003: 46), the coverage in the *Sydney Morning Herald* proved that it was possible to take a line which the Government and the majority of the public disagreed with, and by doing so function as an autonomous media institution in Australia. By comparison, *The Daily Telegraph* failed to fulfil the normative journalistic goal of turning a critical spotlight onto the authorities, something which clearly highlights the weaknesses of the Australian media system also pointed out by APC (2007); Karlekar (2007) and MEAA (2005). This can be seen as confirmation of the description of Australia as a country where the normative goal of providing information has been neglected (Jones & Pusey 2009: 1).



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# Appendix 1: Remaining tables and graphs

## Abbreviations

Dagbladet	DB
Aftenposten	AP
Sydney Morning Herald	SMH
The Daily Telegraph	DT

## 1. Quantity

### 1.1) Amount of content

Newspaper	DB	AP	SMH	DT
No. of pieces	40	54	332	239

### 1.2) Amount of front page coverage

Newspaper	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Amount	5	46	9	82	9	82	8	67

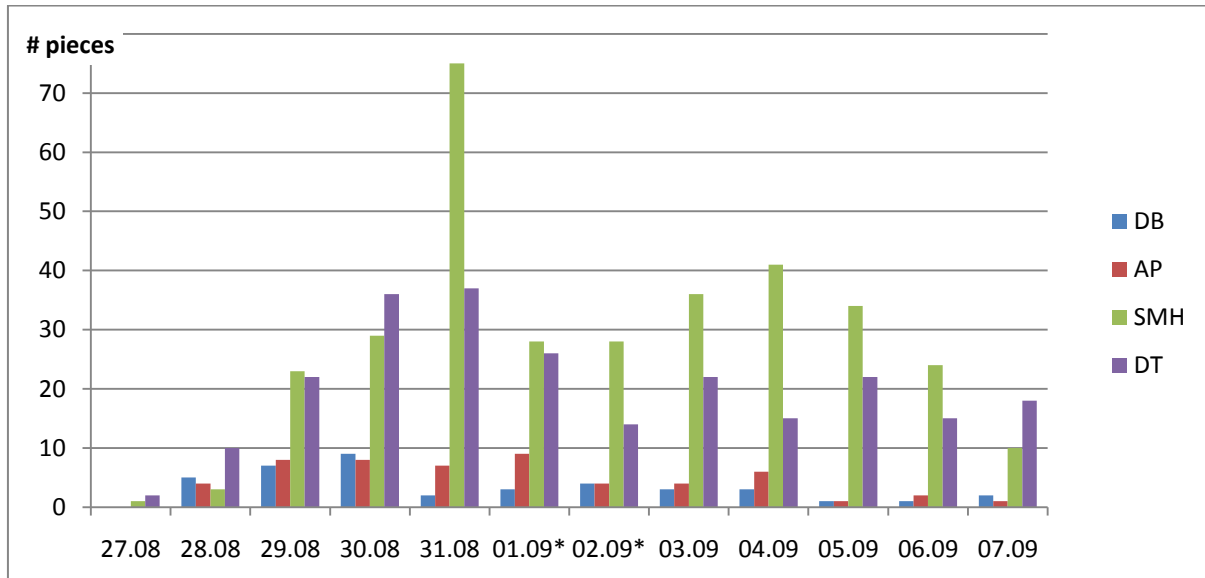
## 2. Genre

### 2.1) Count and distribution – all content, all genres

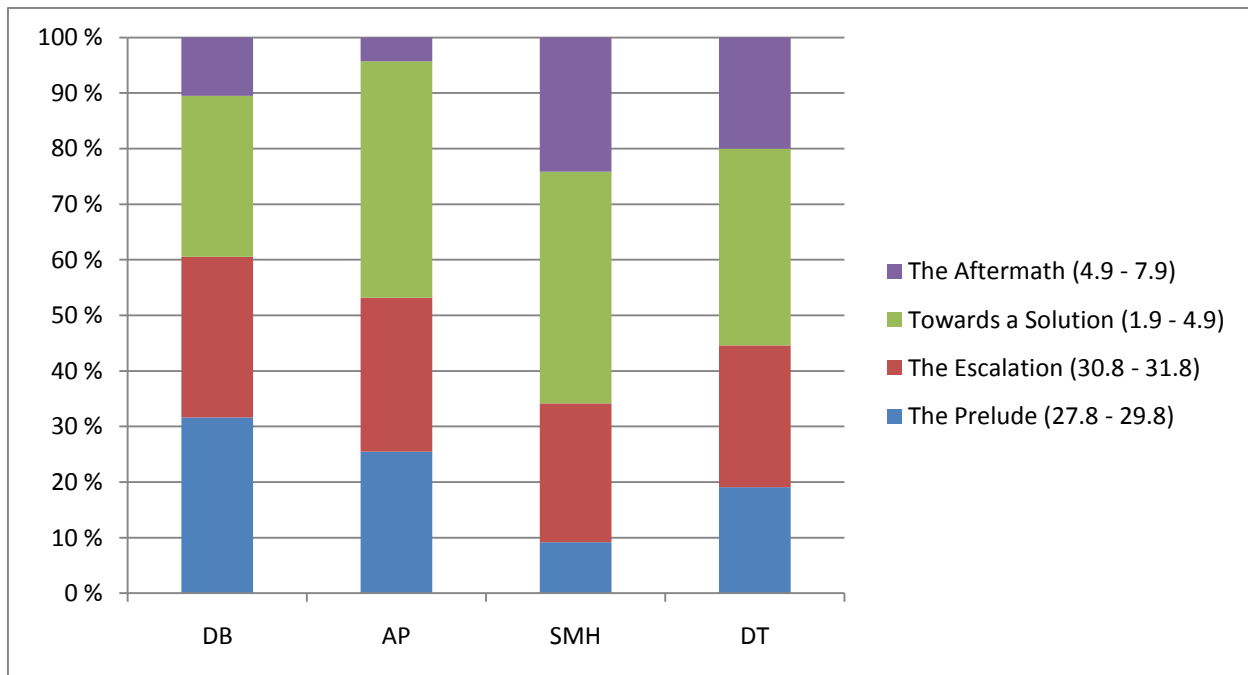
Newspaper	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Article	22	55	27	50	61	18	35	15
Paragraph	7	18	5	9	2	1	22	9
Feature Article	1	2	1	2	9	3	3	1
Op-ed	0	0	2	4	4	1	4	2
Commentary	4	10	4	7	18	5	13	5
Editorial	3	8	3	5	6	2	8	3
Petit	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0
News Interview	1	2	5	9	2	1	7	3
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Letters to the Editor	2	5	5	9	208	63	125	52
Caricature	0	0	2	4	12	4	9	4
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	5	2	12	5
Sum	40	100	54	100	332	100	239	100

### 3. Coverage throughout the period

#### 3.1) Distribution of coverage throughout the period



#### 3.2) Distribution of editorial coverage throughout the four phases





## 4. Sources

### 4.1) Distribution of sources, all categories

Source type	DB	%	AP	%	SMH	%	DT	%
1 Ship's crew	12	16	6	6	9	2	15	6
2 Wilhelmsen employees	8	11	6	6	8	2	7	3
3 Australian authorities	5	7	7	7	83	19	61	25
4 Norwegian authorities	14	18	15	14	17	4	12	5
5 Other media	12	16	17	16	60	14	22	9
6 Wire service	5	7	6	6	2	1	0	0
7 Ship's crew's next of kin	4	5	0	0	0	0	5	2
8 Experts	8	11	22	21	76	18	34	14
9 Indonesian authorities	1	1	1	1	19	4	9	4
10 Australian politicians*	3	4	0	0	34	8	20	8
11 Norwegian politicians*	1	1	3	3	1	0	0	0
12 Inhabitants of Christmas Island	0	0	15	14	23	5	5	2
13 Documents	0	0	1	1	40	9	31	13
14 Anonymous sources	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 Australians in Norway	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
16 Afghan authorities	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
17 Australians in Australia	0	0	2	2	3	1	3	1
18 Naura authorities	0	0	1	1	5	1	0	0
19 Own newspaper	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	1
20 New Zealand authorities	0	0	0	0	7	2	3	1
21 Rumours	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
22 Governments in other countries	0	0	0	0	6	1	5	2
23 Norwegians in Norway	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
24 St. Louis survivors	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
25 The shipwrecked	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	2
26 Inhabitants of Nauru	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0
27 Afghans	0	0	0	0	24	6	1	0
28 Refugees living in Australia	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1
Sum	76	100	104	100	429	100	243	100

\*Opposition politicians and local/regional politicians who are not in the Government

### 4.2) Secondary sources

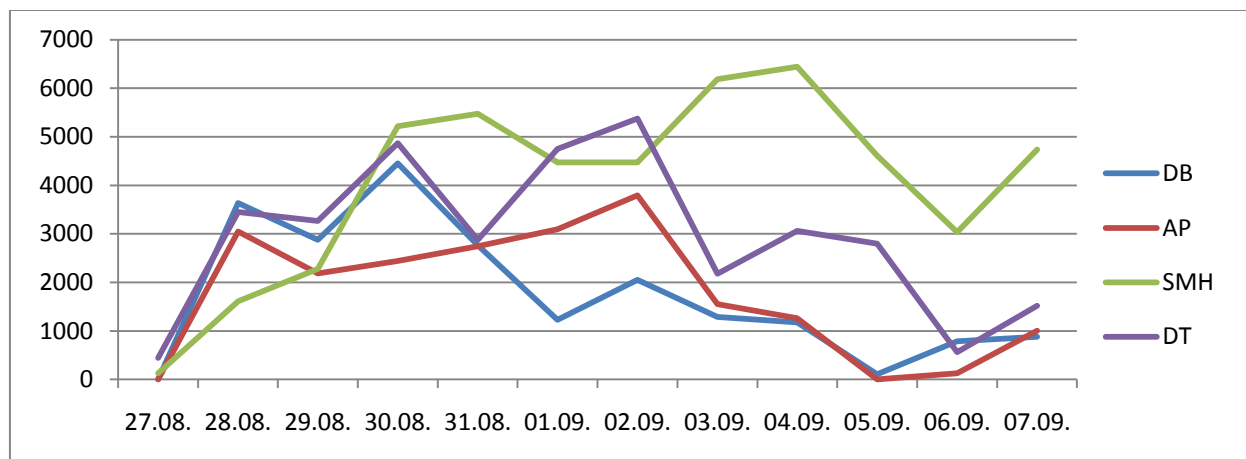
Source type	DB	%	AP	%	SMH	%	DT	%
1 Ship's crew	0	0	0	0	5	7	2	4, 7
2 Wilhelmsen employees	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
3 Australian authorities	2	22	1	9	14	20	10	23
4 Norwegian authorities	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0
5 Other media	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2
6 Wire service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7 Ship's crew's next of kin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

8 Experts	1	11	6	55	21	30	17	40
9 Indonesian authorities	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0
10 Australian politicians*	1	11	0	0	7	10	4	9
11 Norwegian politicians*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12 Inhabitants of Christmas Island	1	11	0	0	2	3	0	0
13 Documents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 Anonymous sources	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 Australians in Norway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16 Afghan authorities	2	22	0	0	0	0	1	2
17 Australians in Australia	0	0	4	36	7	10	0	0
18 Nauru's authorities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19 Own newspaper	0	0	0	0	5	7	4	9
20 New Zealand authorities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21 Rumours	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22 Governments in other countries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23 Norwegians in Norway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24 St. Louis survivors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25 The shipwrecked	1	11	0	0	3	4	1	2
26 Inhabitants of Nauru	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
27 Afghans	1	11	0	0	0	0	1	2
28 Refugees living in Australia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	9	100	11	100	70	100	43	100

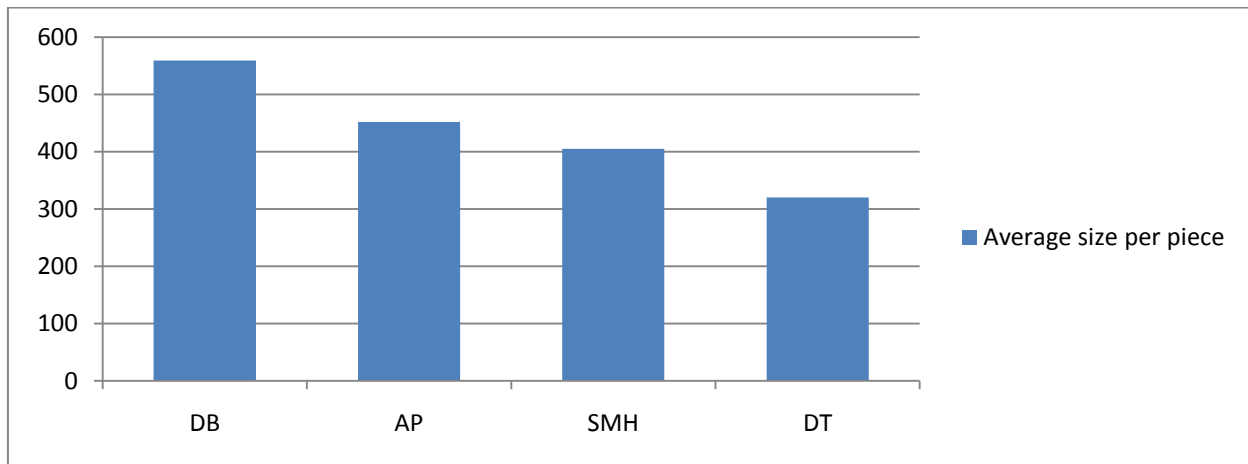
\*Opposition politicians and local/regional politicians who are not in the Government

## 5. Size

### 5.1) Editorial content, in size (cm<sup>2</sup>), throughout the period



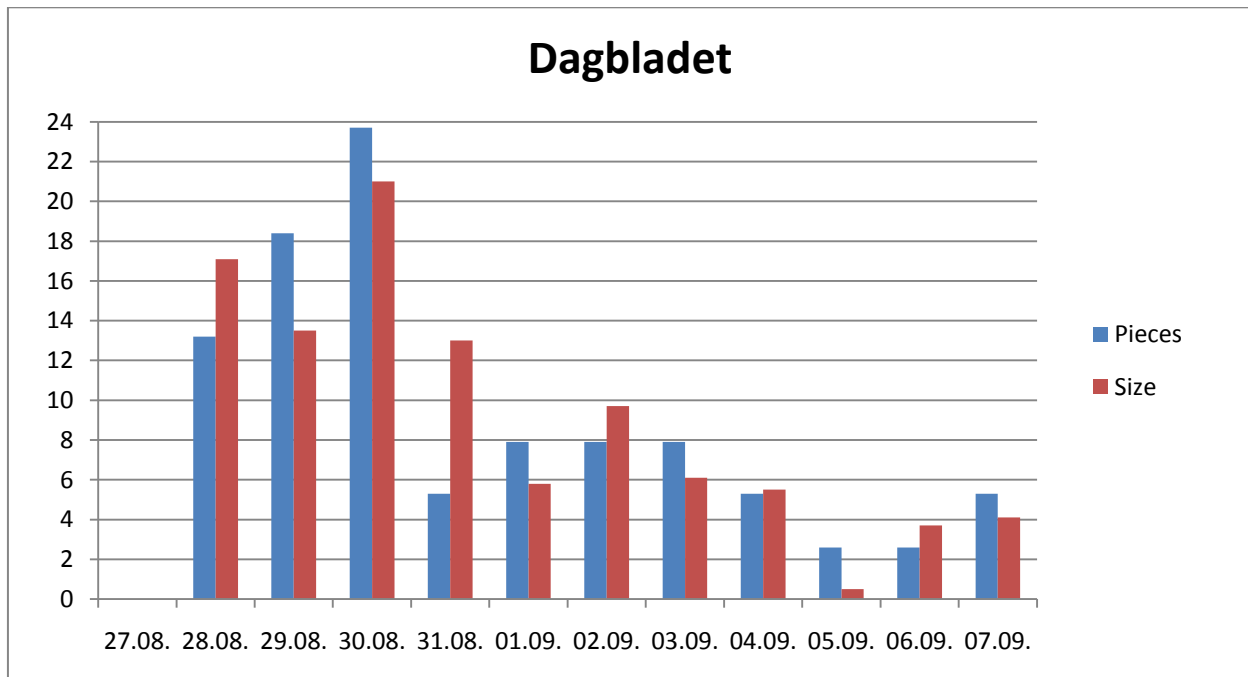
### **5.2) Average size (cm<sup>2</sup>) per piece**



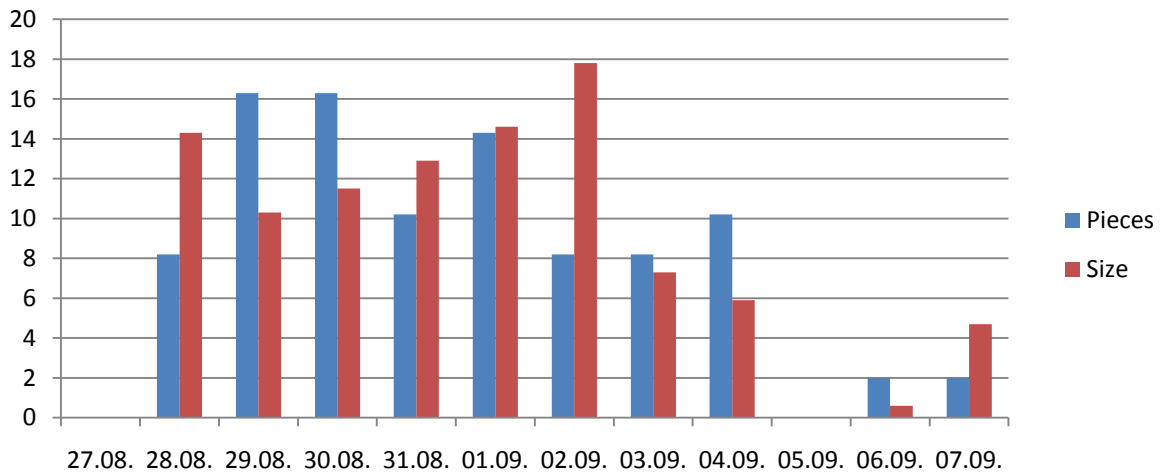
### **5.3)The Daily Telegraph: Size with and without paragraphs (genre #2)**

DT	Size of all editorial content	Size minus paragraphs
Number of pieces	110	88
Size in cm <sup>2</sup>	35 145 cm <sup>2</sup>	34 009 cm <sup>2</sup>
Average size per piece	320 cm <sup>2</sup>	386,5 cm <sup>2</sup>

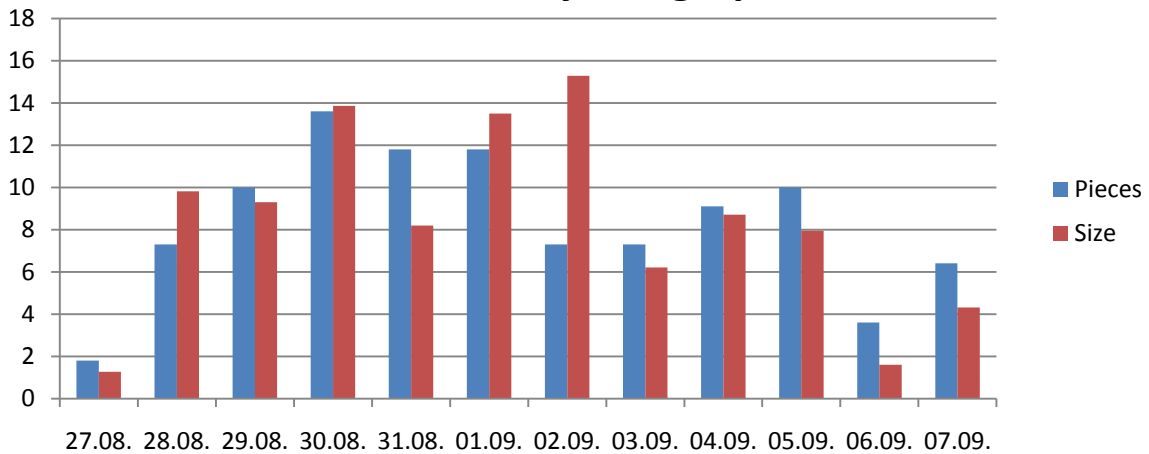
### **5.4) Distribution of pieces versus size, throughout the period**



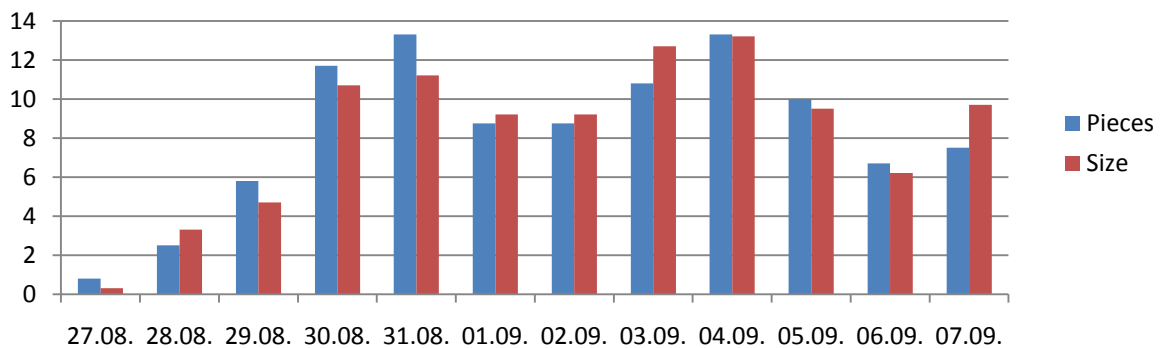
## Aftenposten

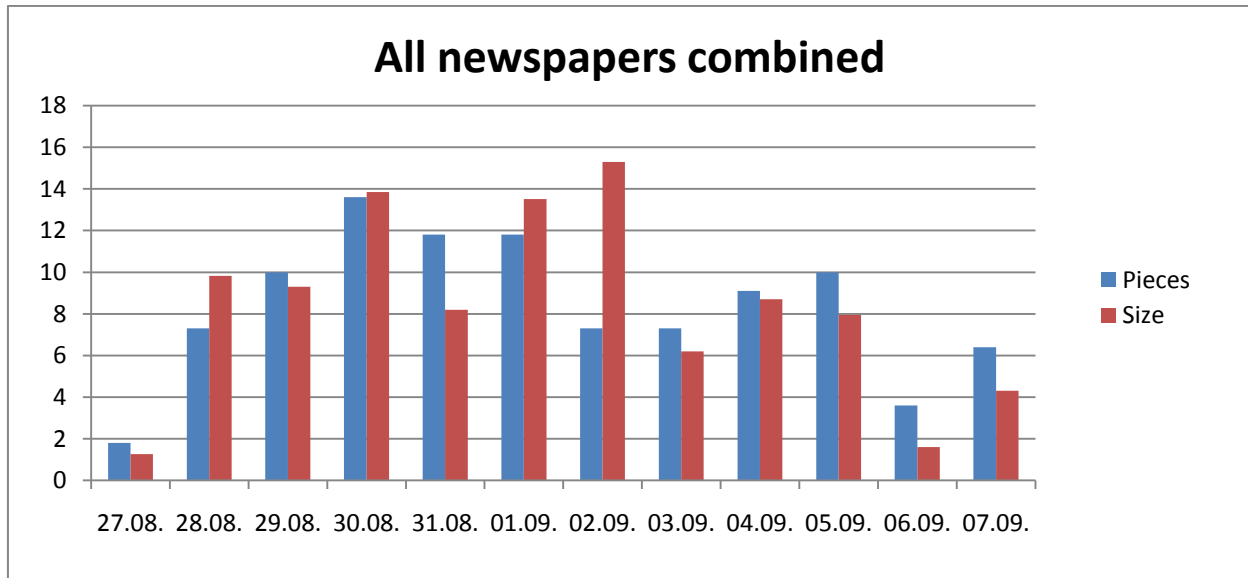


## The Daily Telegraph



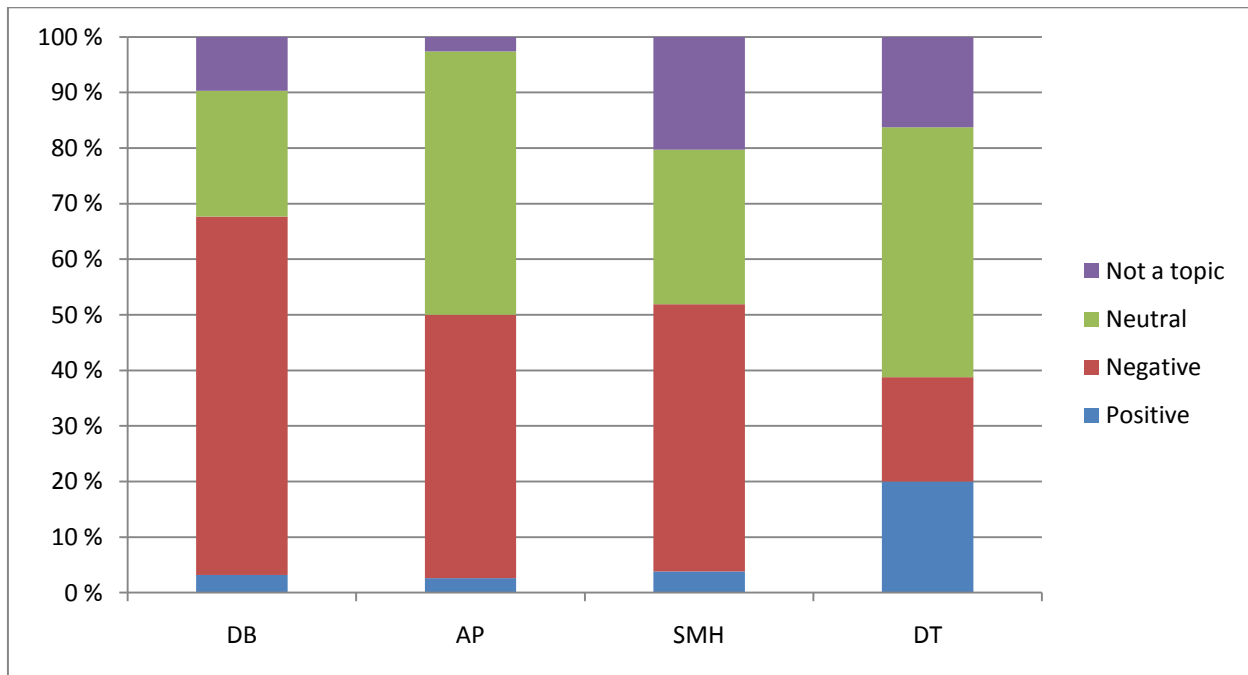
## Sydney Morning Herald



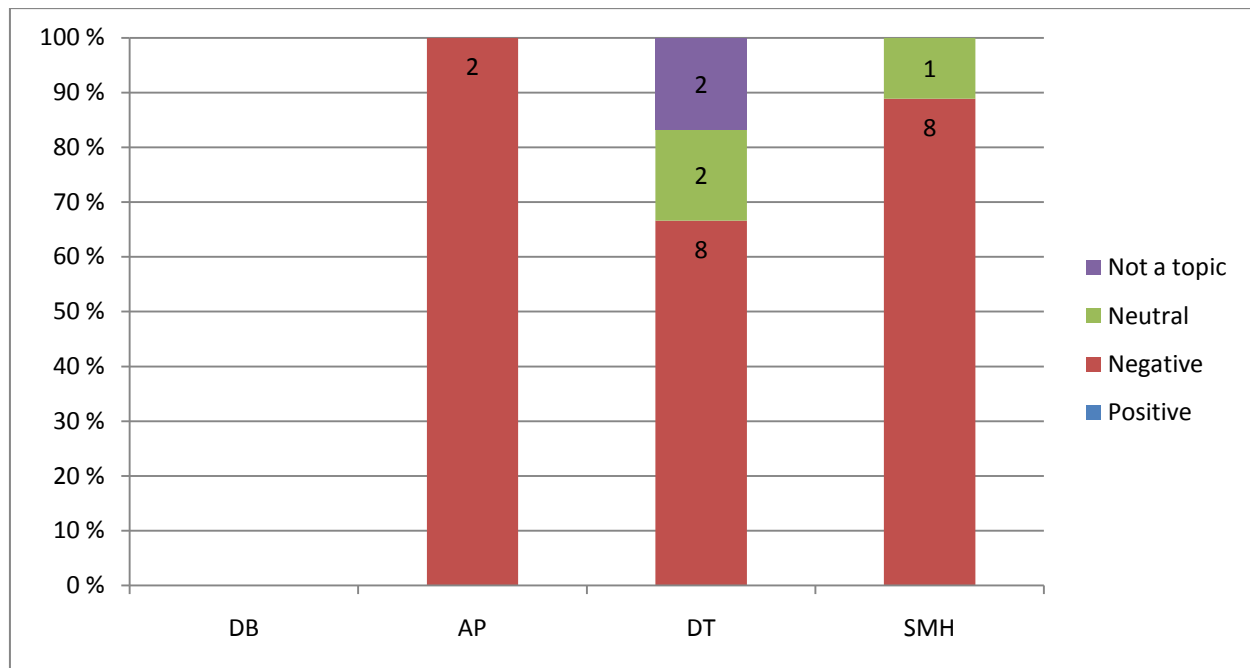


## 6. Inclination

### 6.1) Australian authorities' treatment of the Tampa crisis, non-opinionative news content



## 6.2) Australian authorities' treatment of the Tampa crisis, caricatures and cartoons



## 6.3) Inclination split by genre, I

### 6.3.1) Positive editorial content

Positive	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Article	0	0	1	100	2	20	5	16
Paragraph	1	100	0	0	0	0	5	16
Feature Article	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commentary	0	0	0	0	5	50	9	28
Editorial	0	0	0	0	2	20	7	22
Petit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News Interview	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	6
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caricature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	13
Sum	1	100	1	100	10	100	32	100

### 6.3.2) Negative editorial content

Negative	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Article	16	62	15	60	31	52	8	32
Paragraph	2	8	1	4	2	3	2	8
Feature Article	1	4	0	0	2	3	2	8
Commentary	3	12	3	12	9	15	2	8

Editorial	3	12	2	8	2	3	0	0
Petit	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0
News Interview	1	4	2	8	0	0	3	12
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caricature	0	0	2	8	8	13	8	32
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0
Sum	26	100	25	100	60	100	25	100

#### 6.3.3) Neutral editorial content

Neutral	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Article	6	75	11	55	19	66	21	19
Paragraph	1	13	3	15	0	0	6	5
Feature Article	0	0	1	5	1	3	1	1
Commentary	1	13	1	5	2	7	2	2
Editorial	0	0	1	5	2	7	1	1
Petit	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
News Interview	0	0	3	15	0	0	2	2
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caricature	0	0	0	0	2	7	1	1
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	2	7	6	5
Sum	8	100	20	100	29	100	40	36

#### 6.3.4) Editorial content where the Australian authorities' stand-off was not a topic

Not a topic	DB		AP		SMH		DT	
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Article	0	0	0	0	9	43	1	1
Paragraph	3	100	1	100	0	0	9	8
Feature Article	0	0	0	0	6	29	0	0
Commentary	0	0	0	0	2	10	0	0
Editorial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Petit	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0
News Interview	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0		0	1	1
Caricature	0	0	0	0	2	10	0	0
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Sum	3	100	1	100	21	100	13	12

### **6.4) Inclination split by genre, II**

#### 6.4.1) Dagbladet

<i>Dagbladet</i>	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Not a topic		Total
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.
Article	0	0	16	73	6	27	0	0	22

Paragraph	1	14	2	29	1	14	3	43	7
Feature Article	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1
Commentary	0	0	3	75	1	25	0	0	4
Editorial	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	3
Petit	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0
News Interview	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caricature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	1	3	26	68	8	21	3	8	38

#### 6.4.2) Aftenposten

<i>Aftenposten</i>	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Not a topic		Total
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.
Article	1	4	15	56	11	41	0	0	27
Paragraph	0	0	1	20	3	60	1	20	5
Feature Article	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Commentary	0	0	3	75	1	25	0	0	4
Editorial	0	0	2	67	1	33	0	0	3
Petit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News Interview	0	0	2	40	3	60	0	0	5
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caricature	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2
Info box/ poll	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	1	2	25	53	20	43	1	2	47

#### 6.4.3) The Sydney Morning Herald

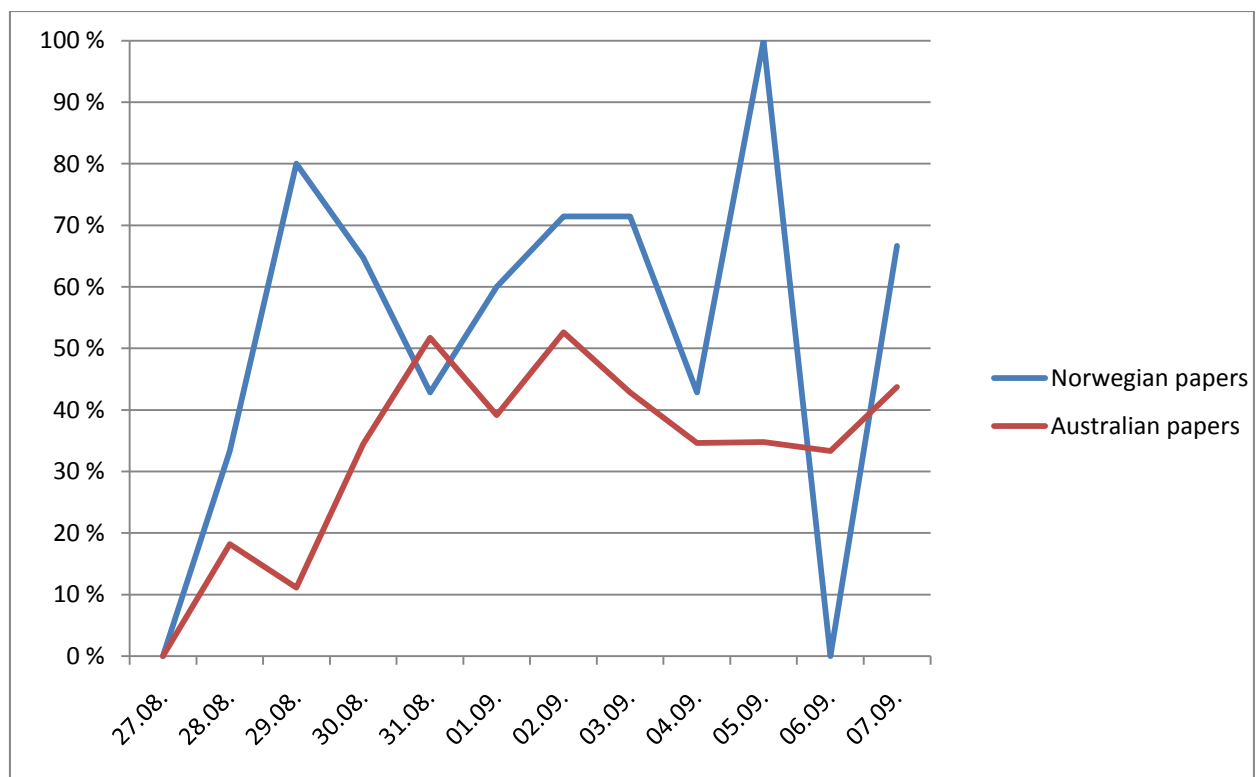
<i>SMH</i>	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Not a topic		Total
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.
Article	2	3	31	51	19	31	9	15	61
Paragraph	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2
Feature Article	0	0	2	22	1	11	6	67	9
Commentary	5	28	9	50	2	11	2	11	18
Editorial	2	33	2	33	2	33	0	0	6
Petit	0	0	3	60	1	20	1	20	5
News Interview	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	50	2
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caricature	0	0	8	67	2	17	2	17	12
Info box/ poll	0	0	3	60	2	40	0	0	5
Sum	10	8	60	50	29	24	21	18	120



#### 6.4.4) The Daily Telegraph

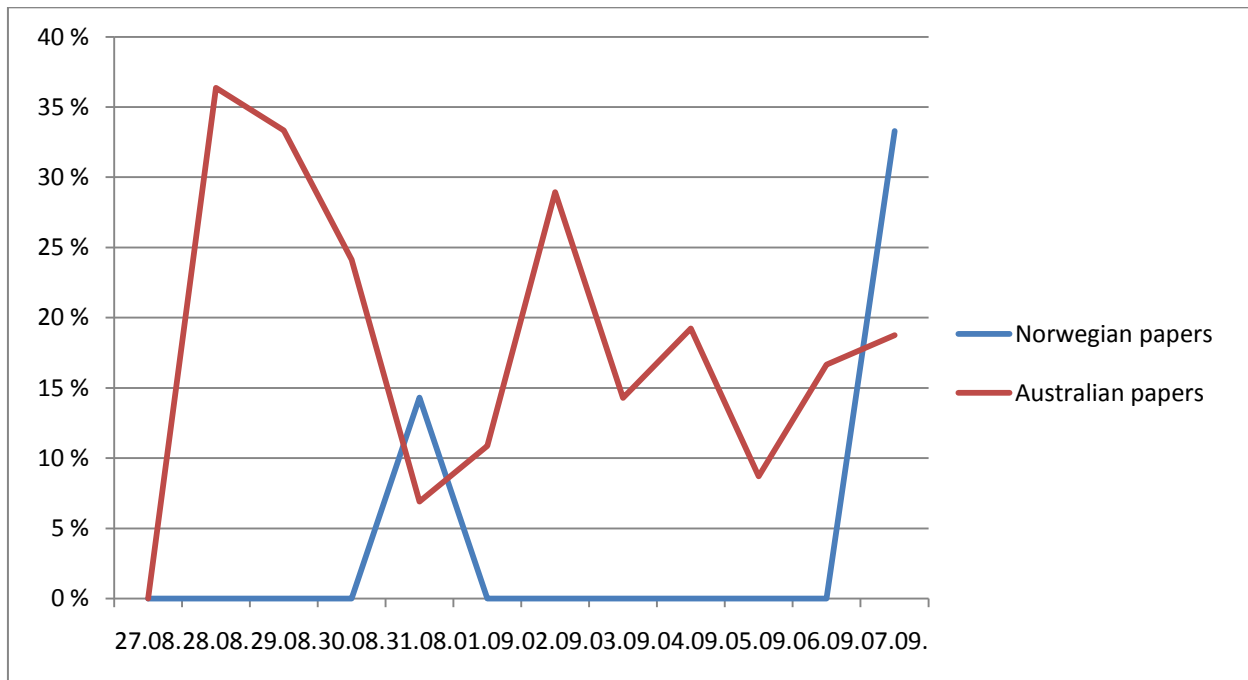
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Not a topic		Total
Genre	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.
Article	5	14	8	23	21	60	1	3	35
Paragraph	5	23	2	9	6	27	9	41	22
Feature Article	0	0	2	67	1	33	0	0	3
Commentary	9	69	2	15	2	15	0	0	13
Editorial	7	88	0	0	1	13	0	0	8
Petit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
News Interview	2	29	3	43	2	29	0	0	7
Portrait Interview	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1	100	1
Caricature	0	0	8	89	1	11	0	0	9
Info box/ poll	4	33	0	0	6	50	2	17	12
Sum	32	29	25	23	40	36	13	12	110

#### **6.5) Distribution of content with negative inclination, day by day, divided by nationality**

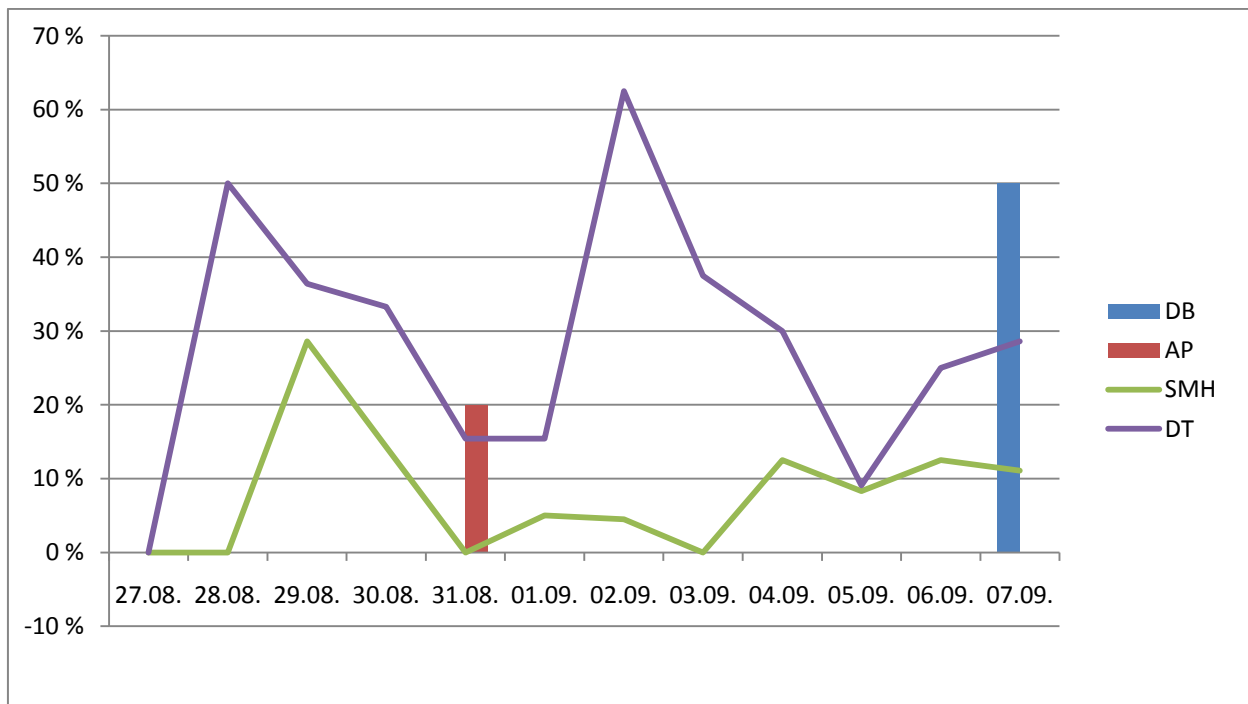


## **6.6) Distribution of content with positive inclination, day by day**

### 6.6.1) Papers divided by nationality



### 6.6.2) Individual papers



### **6.7) Distribution of content with negative inclination throughout the period**

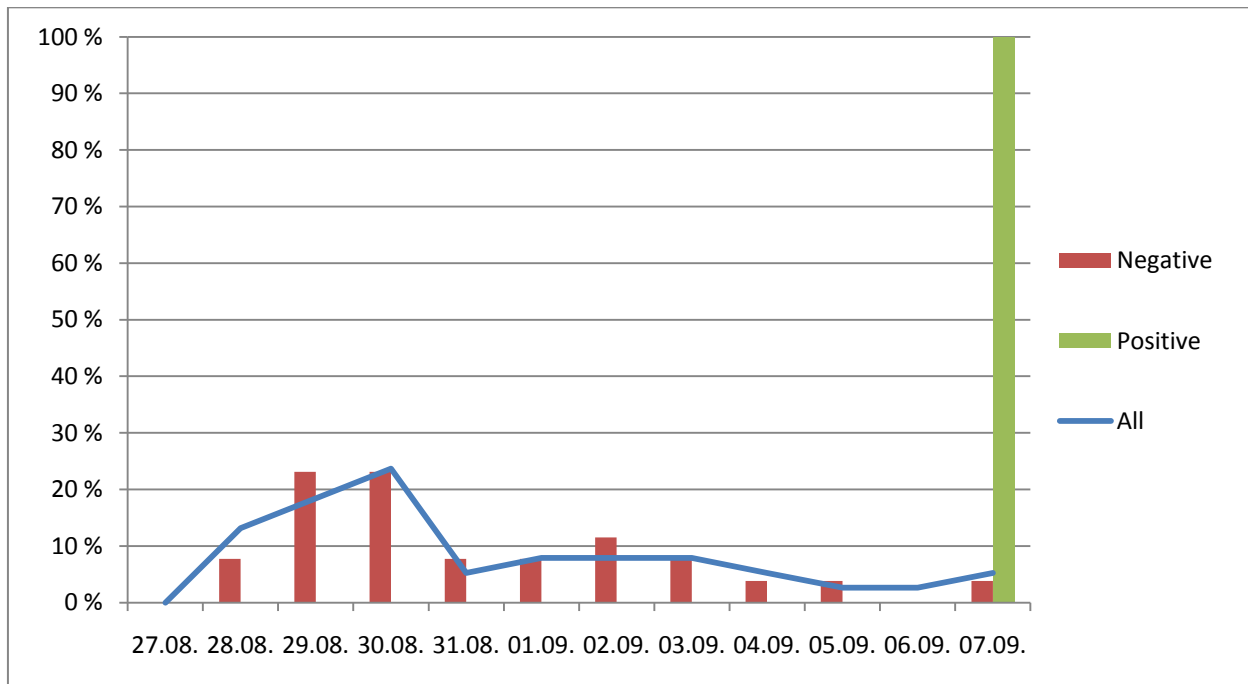
	DB			AP			SMH			DT		
	Total	Negative		Total	Negative		Total	Negative		Total	Negative	
Date	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%
27.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
28.08	5	2	8	4	1	4	3	1	2	8	1	4
29.08	7	6	23	8	6	24	7	2	3	11	0	0
30.08	9	6	23	8	5	20	14	6	10	15	4	16
31.08	2	2	8	5	1	4	16	12	20	13	3	12
01.09	3	2	8	7	4	16	10	7	12	13	2	8
02.09	3	3	12	4	2	8	11	8	13	8	2	8
03.09	3	2	8	4	3	12	13	7	12	8	2	8
04.09	2	1	4	5	2	8	16	6	10	10	3	12
05.09	1	1	4	0	0	0	12	6	10	11	2	8
06.09	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	1	2	4	3	12
07.09	2	1	4	1	1	4	9	4	7	7	3	12
Sum	38	26	100	49	25	100	120	60	100	110	25	100

### **6.8) Distribution of content with positive inclination throughout the period**

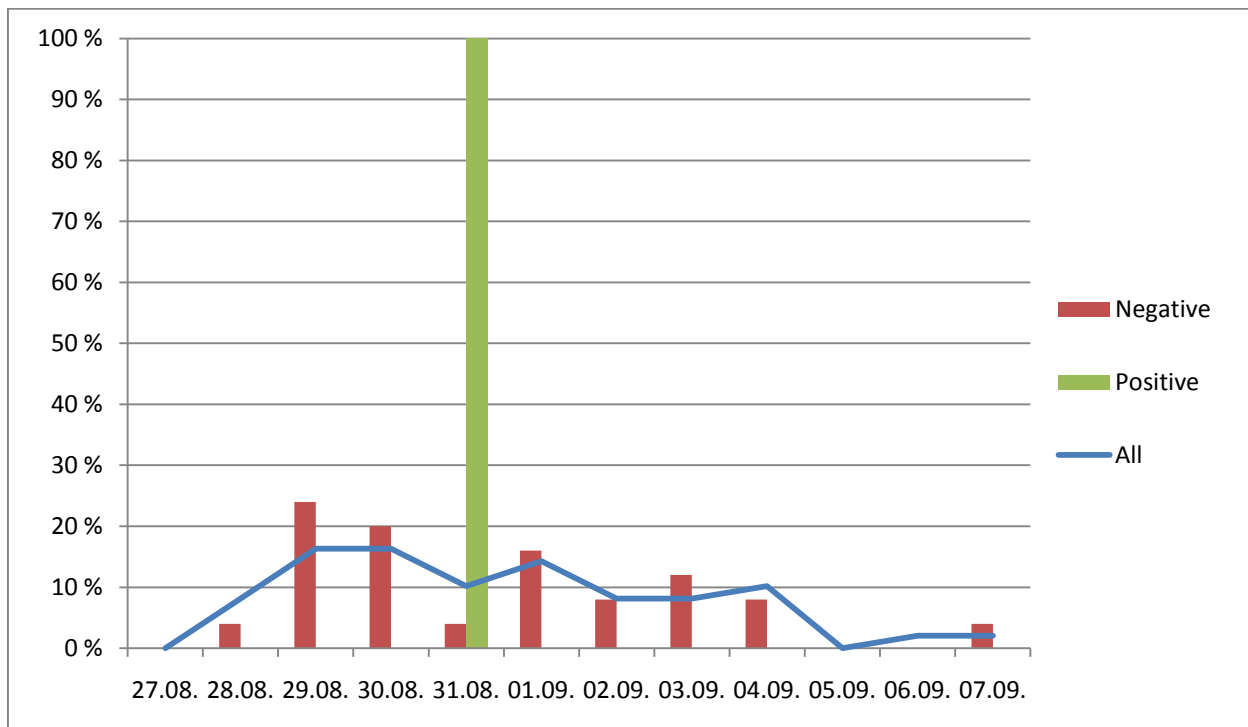
	DB			AP			SMH			DT		
	Total	Positive		Total	Positive		Total	Positive		Total	Positive	
Date	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%	no.	no.	%
27.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
28.08	5	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	8	4	12
29.08	7	0	0	8	0	0	7	2	20	11	4	12
30.08	9	0	0	8	0	0	14	2	20	15	5	16
31.08	2	0	0	5	1	100	16	0	0	13	2	6
01.09	3	0	0	7	0	0	10	0	5	13	2	6
02.09	3	0	0	4	0	0	11	0	5	8	5	16
03.09	3	0	0	4	0	0	13	0	0	8	3	9
04.09	2	0	0	5	0	0	16	2	20	10	3	9
05.09	1	0	0	0	0	0	12	1	10	11	1	3
06.09	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	1	10	4	1	3
07.09	2	1	100	1	0	0	9	1	10	7	2	6
Sum	38	1	100	49	1	100	120	10	100	110	32	100

## **6.9) Distribution throughout the period: negative and positive content, versus total content**

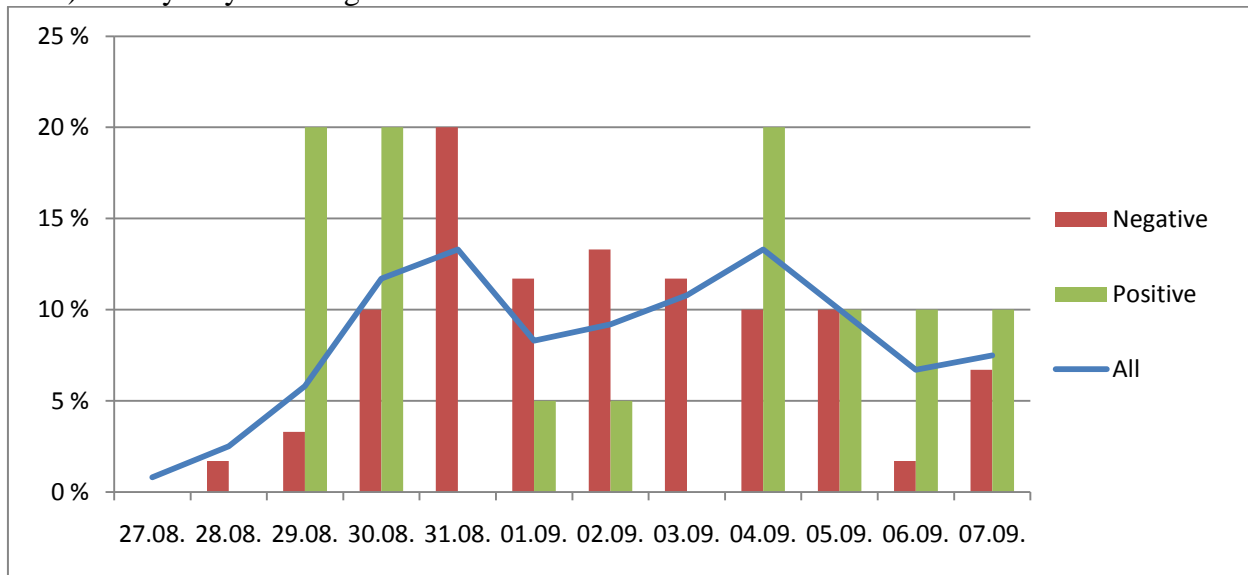
### 6.9.1) Dagbladet



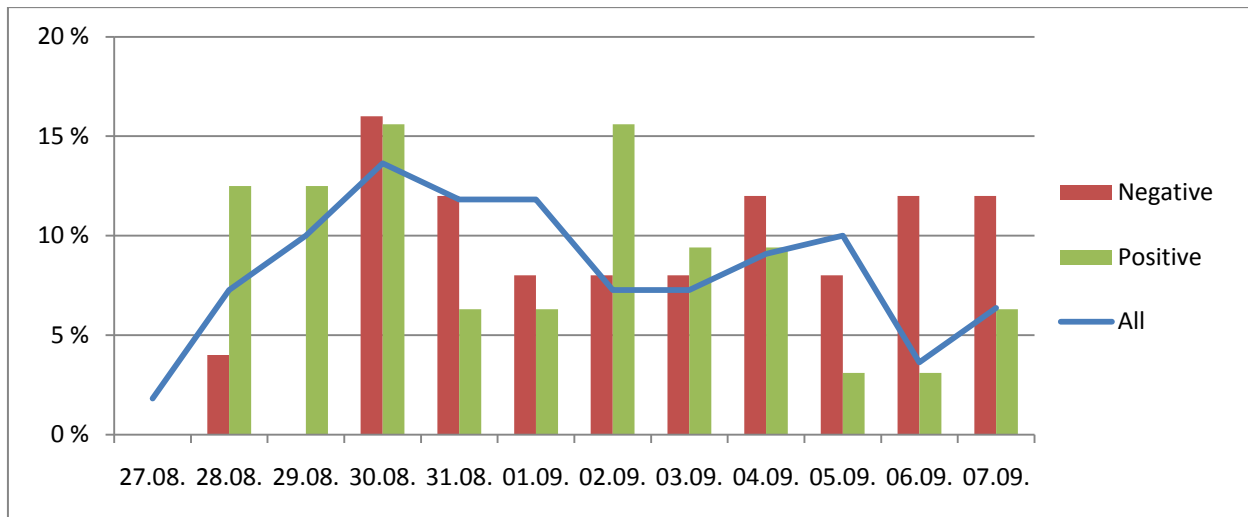
### 6.9.2) Aftenposten



### 6.9.3) The Sydney Morning Herald

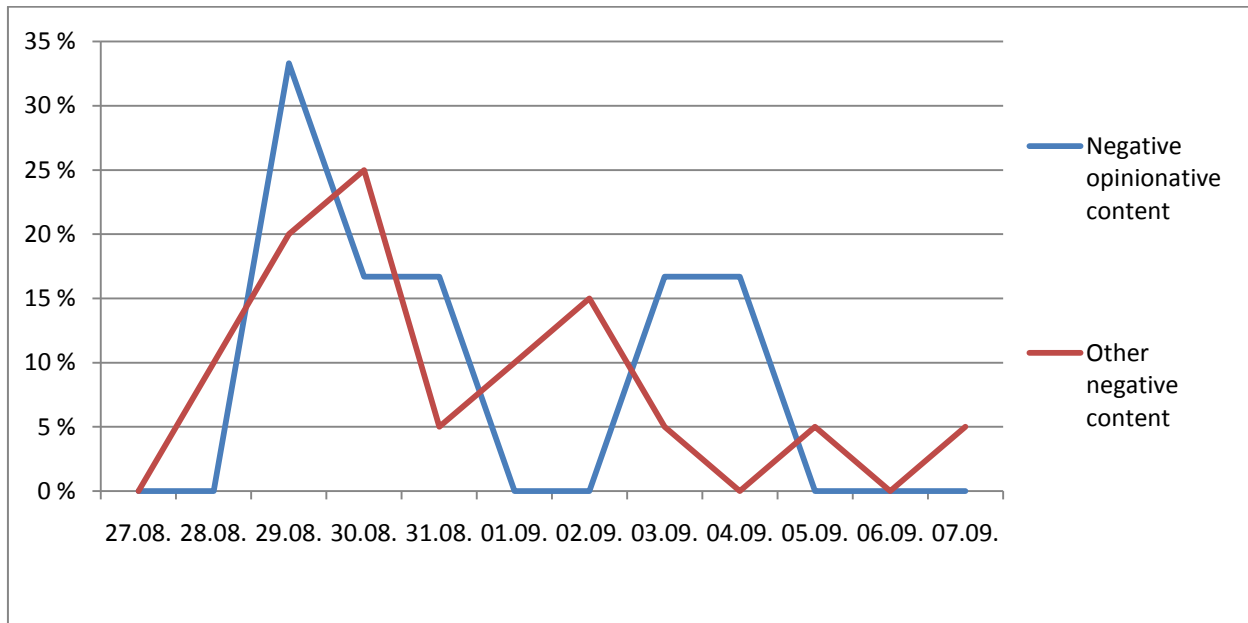


### 6.9.4) The Daily Telegraph



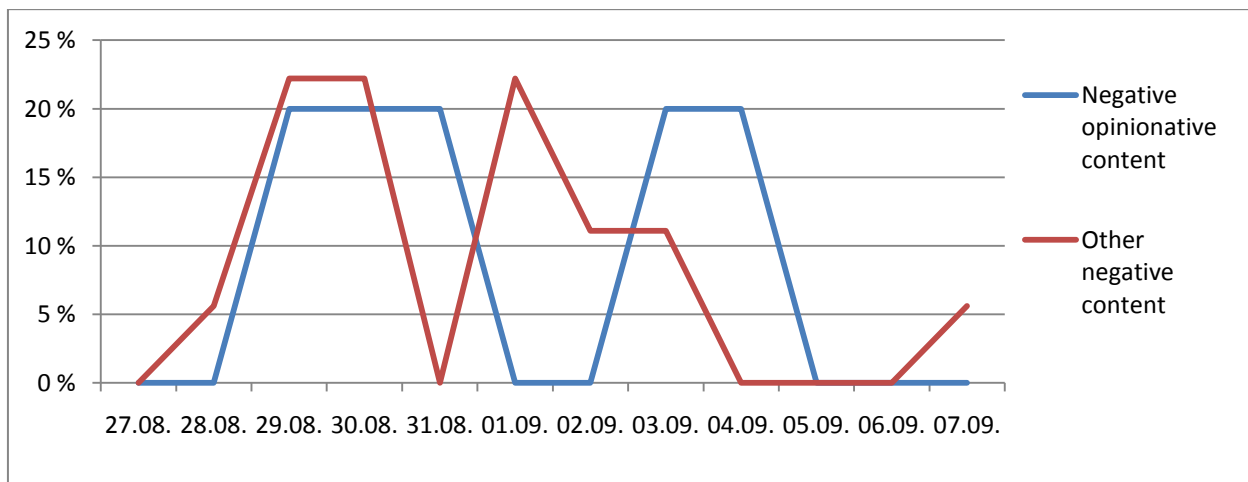
## **6.10) Negative opinionative editorial content\* and other negative news content throughout the period**

### 6.10.1) *Dagbladet*

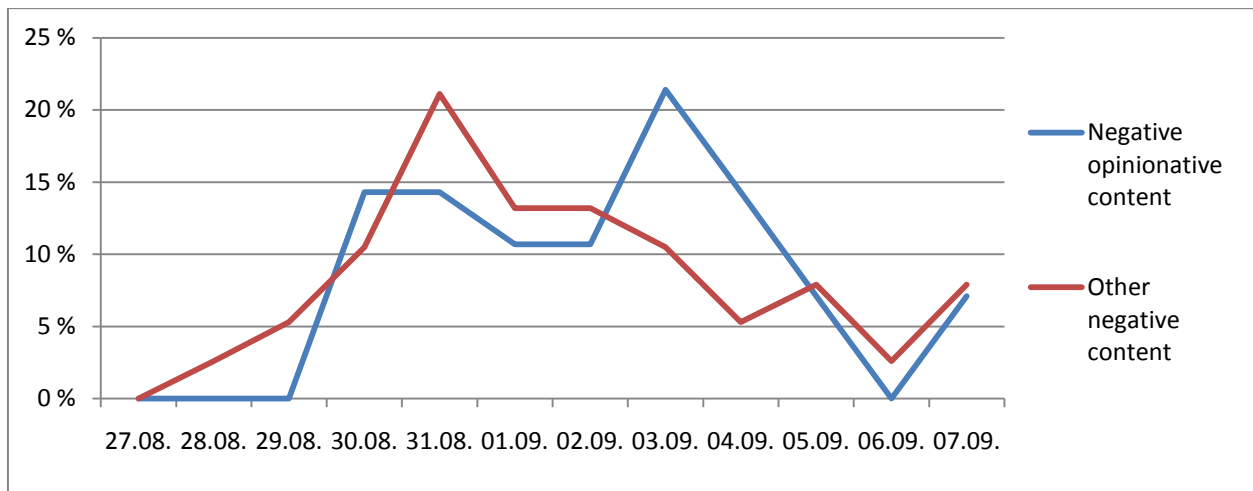


\*Caricatures and cartoons are not included

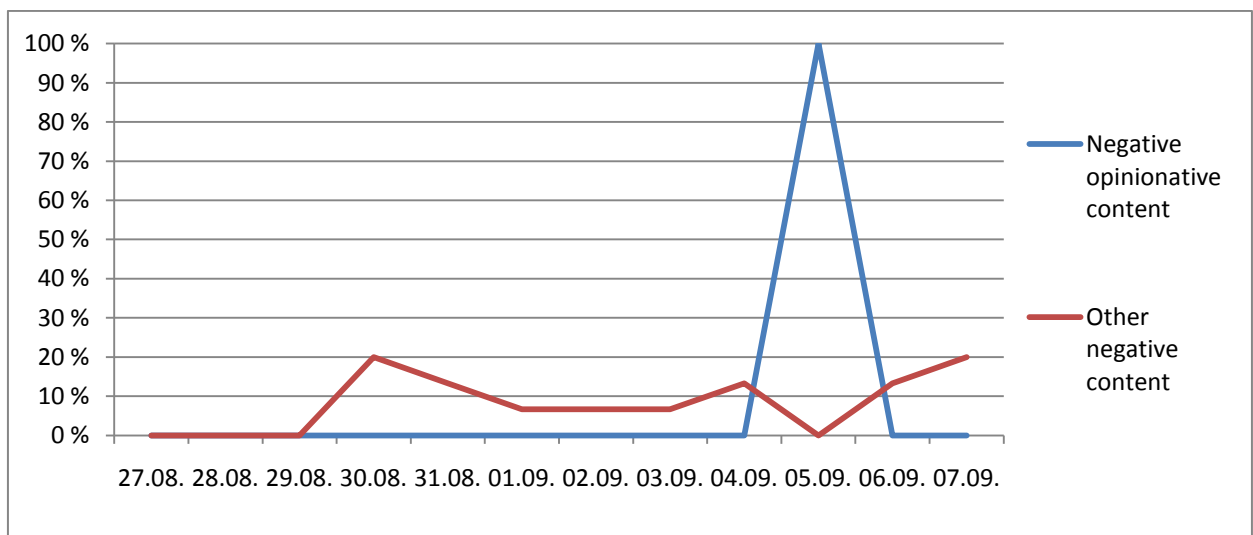
### 6.10.2) *Aftenposten*



### 6.10.3) The Sydney Morning Herald

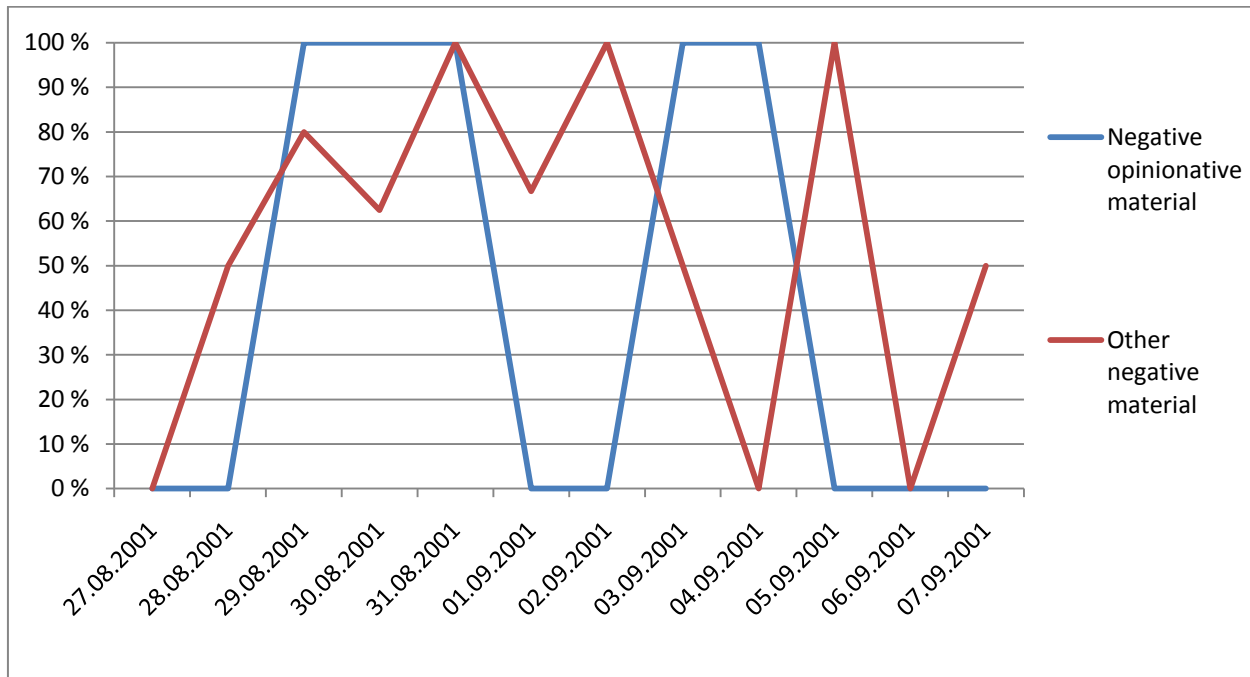


### 6.10.4) The Daily Telegraph



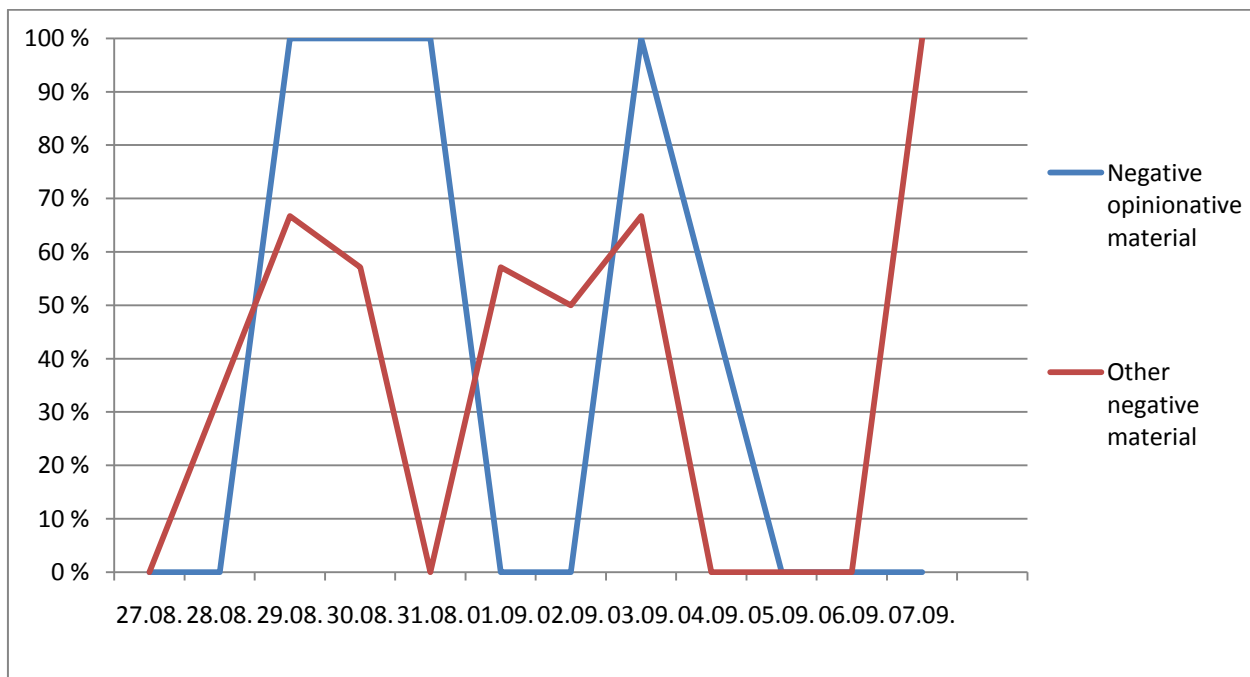
## **6.11) Distribution of negative opinionative editorial content\* and other negative editorial content, day by day**

### 6.11.1) Dagbladet



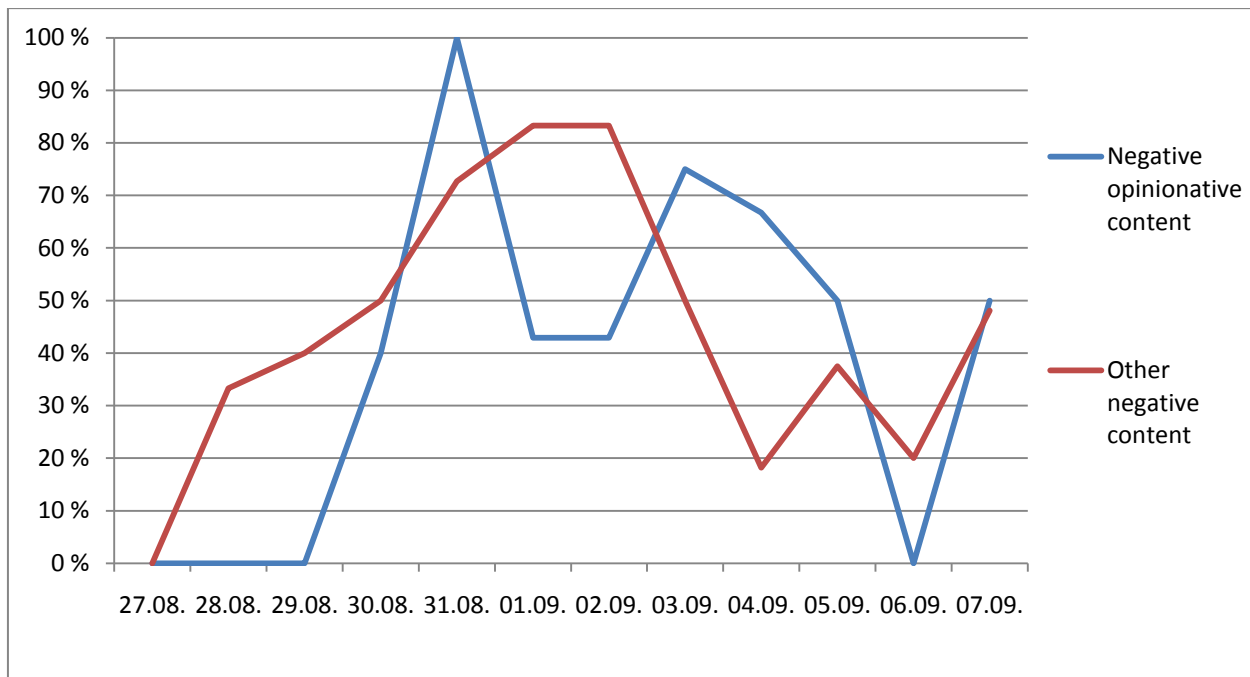
\* Caricatures and cartoons are not included

### 6.11.2) Aftenposten

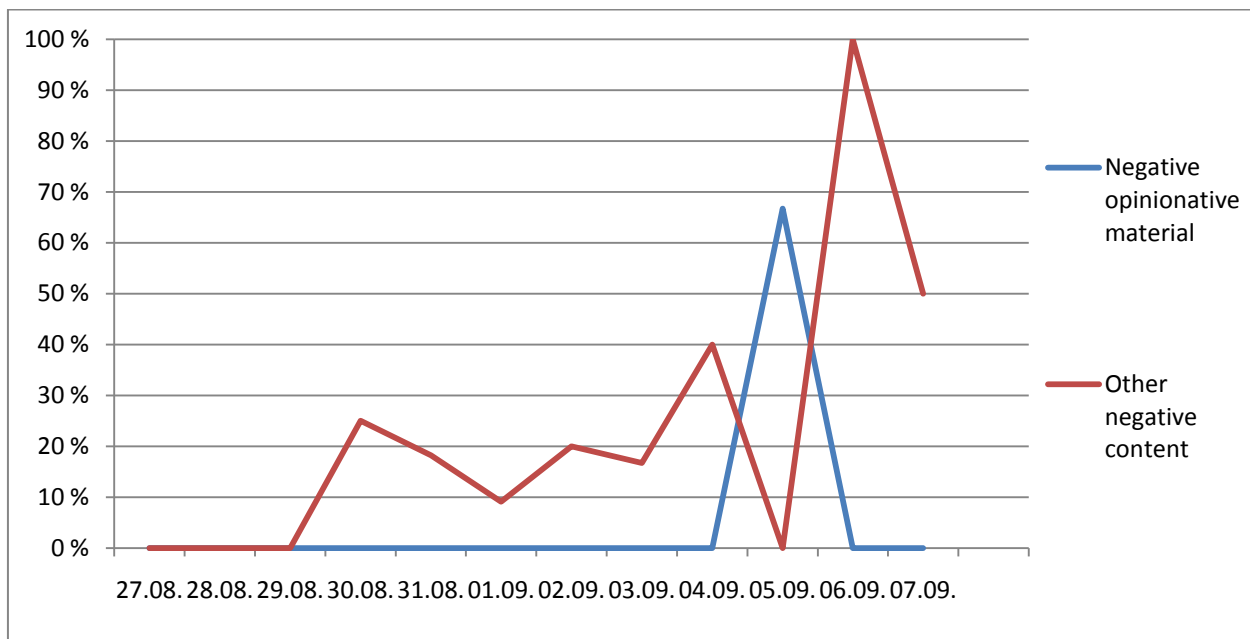




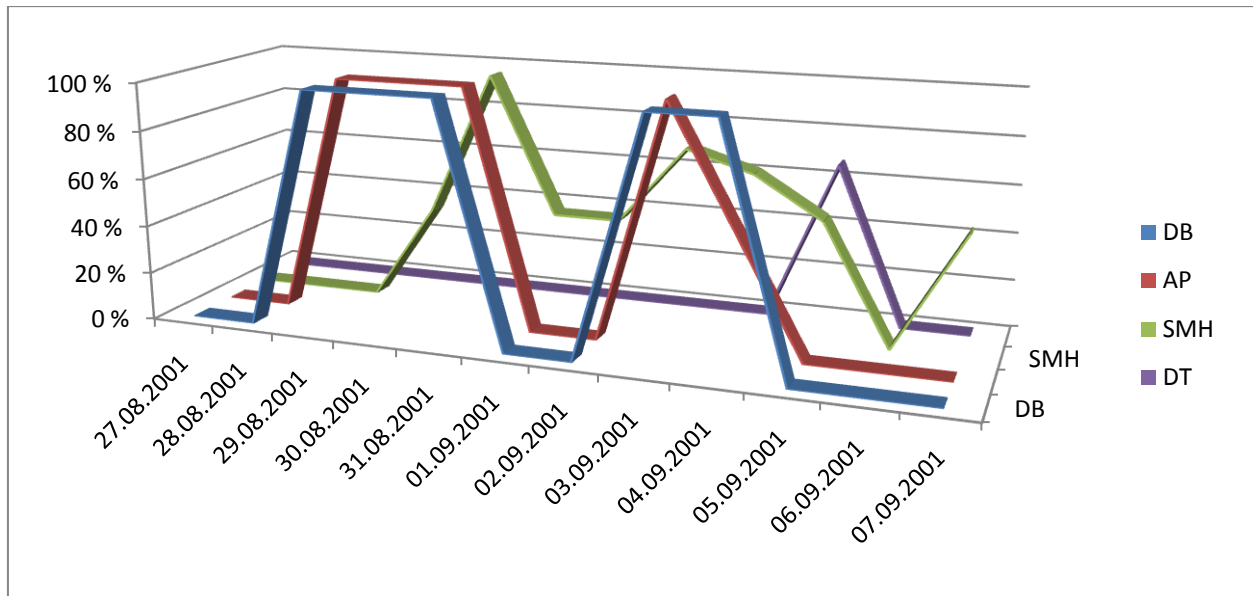
### 6.11.3) The Sydney Morning Herald



### 6.11.4) The Daily Telegraph



6.12) Distribution of negative opinionative editorial content, day by day



# Appendix 2: The ideological model of the Tampa crisis

Figure 22: The Australian Government.

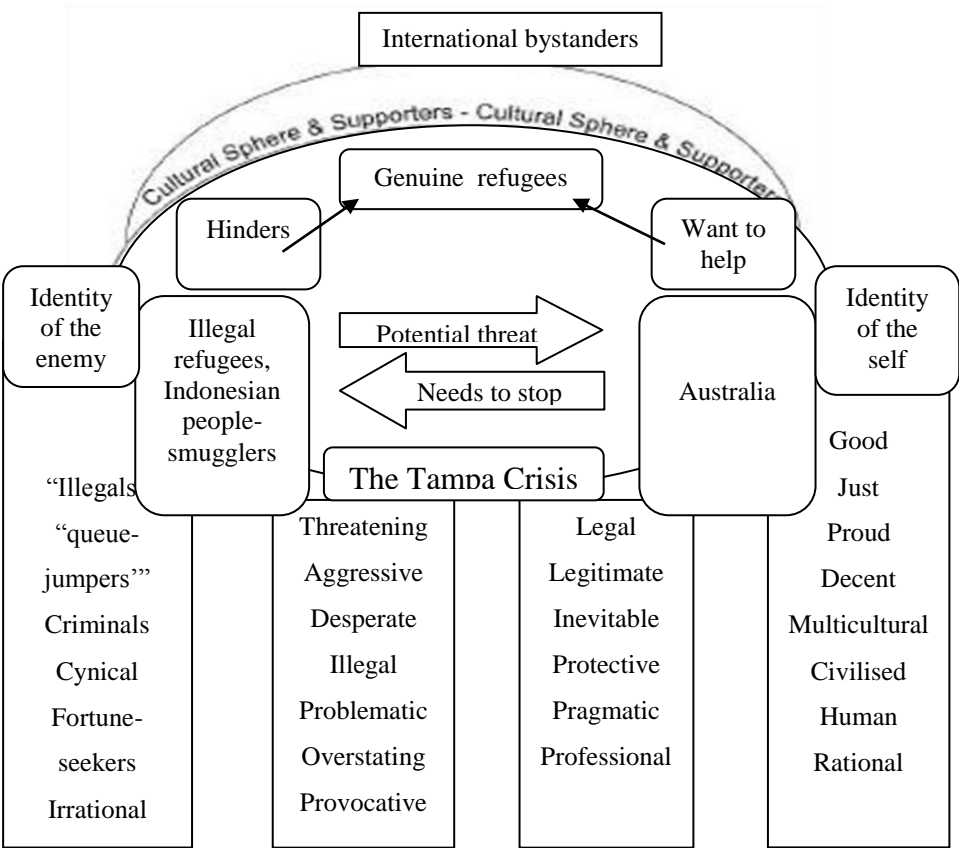
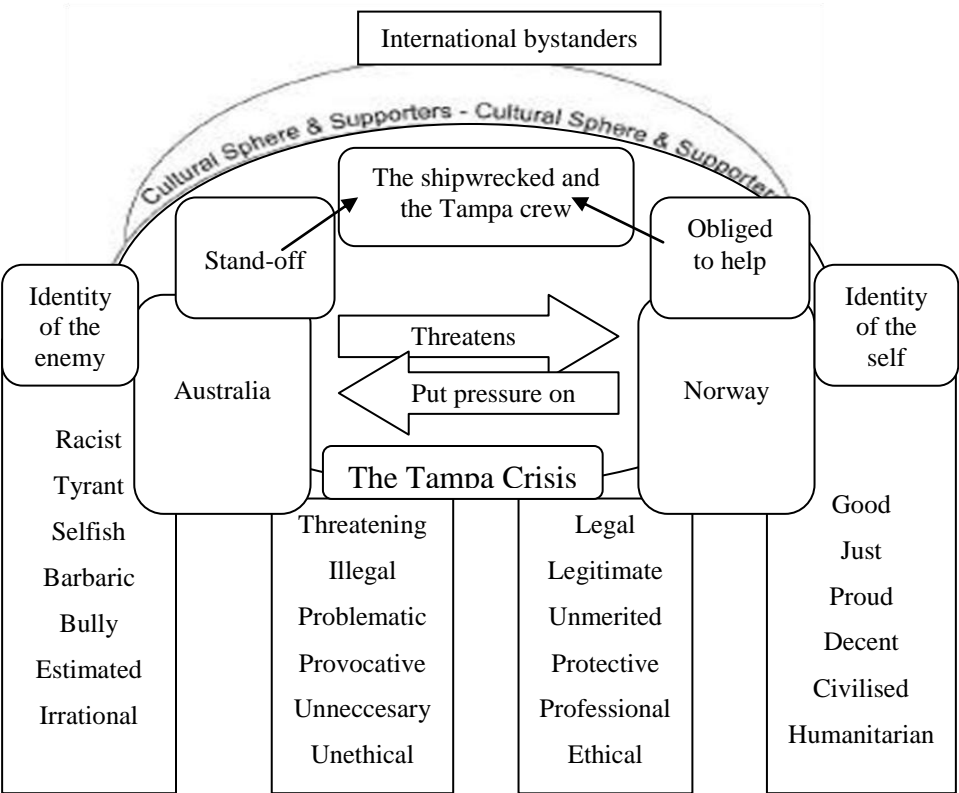


Figure 23: The Norwegian Government.





## Appendix 3: Code book for the Quantitative Analysis

### V1) Newspaper

<b>DB</b>	Dagbladet
<b>AP</b>	Aftenposten
<b>SMH</b>	Sydney Morning Herald
<b>DT</b>	The Daily Telegraph
<b>ST</b>	The Sunday Telegraph

### V2) Date

day / month / year

### V3) Page number

### V4) Front page headline about the Tampa crisis?

Value	Variable
No	0
Yes	1

### V5) Headline

### V6) Genre

Value	Description
<b>01 Article</b>	A news story which reports an event. It can contain interview, but cannot be comprised solely of interviews.
<b>02 Paragraph</b>	A short news story supplied by a wire service, or without a byline.
<b>03 Feature article</b>	An article which builds on proximity and observation, where impressions and observations from the location are used as part of the text.
<b>04 Op-ed</b>	A longer article, written by someone other than a journalist in the newspaper, who takes the role of an expert, social commentator etc, rather than that of a private individual. The letter from those shipwrecked is also included here, provided that it is printed in its entirety.
<b>05 Commentary</b>	An opinionative article written either by editorial staff or a freelance journalist associated with the paper.
<b>06 Editorial</b>	An opinionative article, without byline, printed at the start of the newspaper or newspaper section. The article expresses the opinion of the editorial board.

<b>07 Column (Petit)</b>	Humorous comments from editorial staff, often somewhat exaggerated.
<b>08 News interview</b>	An article where the entire piece is based upon statements/comments from one -or very few- sources, and the purpose of the piece is to establish the facts of the case.
<b>09 Portrait interview</b>	The whole article is based on statements/comments from a single source, and the purpose of the piece is to find out about the interviewee.
<b>10 Letters to the editor</b>	Short, opinionative letters emails or faxes to the editorial staff from a reader. Can be anonymous.
<b>11 Cartoon/ Caricature</b>	
<b>12 Information box/ opinion poll</b>	

#### **V7) Illustrations (amount)**

Total

#### **V8) Inclination**

Positive/ neutral/negative toward Howard's policy, or not a topic.

#### **V9) Sources (Amount)**

Total

#### **V10) Sources (type)**

<b>1 Ship's crew</b>	
<b>2 Wilhelmsen employees</b>	Everyone except the <i>Tampa's</i> crew
<b>3 Australian authorities</b>	Government ministers; Government spokespeople; public servants who are not speaking as private individuals; the police; the judiciary (including the judiciary on Christmas Island).
<b>4 Norwegian authorities</b>	Government ministers and their next of kin.
<b>5 Other media</b>	Also applies to journalists in other media.
<b>6 Wire service</b>	
<b>7 Ship's crew's next of kin</b>	
<b>8 Experts</b>	Doctors, lawyers, psychologists, human rights experts, authors, those who contribute their opinions because of their expertise in a field relevant to the case. This includes religious leaders (except those on Christmas Island, see type #12) and former diplomats, regardless of government experience.
<b>9 Indonesian authorities</b>	Government ministers, Government spokespeople, port authorities etc.
<b>10 Australian politicians</b>	Opposition politicians and local/regional politicians who are not members of the Government.
<b>11 Norwegian politicians</b>	Opposition politicians and local/regional politicians who are

	not members of the Government.
<b>12 Inhabitants of Christmas Island</b>	Including local authorities, as long as they are not dealing with the legal aspects of the case. Religious leaders are also included here.
<b>13 Documents</b>	Plus statistics, written sources, books, telegrams, laws, and poems. Has a subcategory.
<b>14 Anonymous sources</b>	Yes/no, plus total. This is a subcategory.
<b>15 Australians in Norway</b>	
<b>16 Afghan authorities</b>	Also includes non-Taliban sources.
<b>17 Australians in Australia</b>	
<b>18 Nauru authorities</b>	
<b>19 Own newspaper</b>	
<b>20 New Zealand authorities</b>	
<b>21 Rumours</b>	
<b>22 Governments in other countries</b>	Plus the opposition.
<b>23 Norwegians in Norway</b>	
<b>24 St. Louis survivors</b>	
<b>25 The shipwrecked</b>	And their translator.
<b>26 Inhabitants of Nauru</b>	
<b>27 Afghans</b>	In Indonesia, in Afghanistan, and in Australia.
<b>28 Refugees living in Australia</b>	Not those from Afghanistan.

### **V11) Size**

In cm2

### **V12) Sources (type- alternate classification)**

<b>1 Media and journalists</b>	
<b>2 Politics and administration</b>	
<b>3 The shipping company Wilh Wilhelmsen</b>	
<b>4 Experts, professionals</b>	
<b>5 NGOs</b>	
<b>6 The ship's crew, the shipwrecked</b>	
<b>7 Next of kin</b>	
<b>8 Police and legal system</b>	
<b>9 Culture/ literature /sport / religion</b>	
<b>10 Grass roots sources</b>	
<b>11 Other</b>	

### **V13) Sources (who) - Appendix 3**

Name, job/position (if stated).





## Appendix 4: Sources. Secondary sources in brackets.

<b>Aftenposten</b>
AFP
A report from US International Narcotics Control
An official declaration from Nauru's Government
Australia's ambassador to Denmark, Iceland og Norway, Malcolm Leader
Australia's Government spokesperson
Australia's Prime Minister John Howard
Australia's Prime Minister John Howard
Australia's Prime Minister John Howard
Australia's Prime Minister John Howard's spokesperson
Australian radio (The Anglican Archbishop Philip Wilson in Adelaide)
Australian TV
BBC
BBC (A spokesperson for civil rights lawyers of the Australian organisation Victorian Councils for Civil Liberties (VCCL) in Melbourne, who have taken the Australian Government to court)
Builder and former seaman Ron Lanes
Businessman Peter McGovern
Chris Henmam, engineer in Canberra
Christmas Island's Administrator , Bill Taylor
Christmas Island's Administrator , Bill Taylor
Christmas Island's Govenor, Mark Bennett
Crew, Captain of the Tampa Arne Rinnan
Crew, Captain of the Tampa Arne Rinnan
Crew, Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Crew, First Officer Grete Bugge
Crew, Midshipsman Hans Richard Johansen
Crew, Second machinist Kai Nolte
Dagbladet
Eddie Jones i Willoughby
Finnish born travel agent Mea on Christmas Island
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
General Secretary of the Norwegian Sea Officers Association Erik Skogen
Gordon Thomson, local Councillor on Christmas Island and General Secretary of the local trade union
Gordon Thomson; organiser of demonstrations on Christmas Island and General Secretary of the local trade union

Head of the consular section of the Afghan Foreign Office, Abdul Rahman Hotak
In charge of the first drinks station during this year's Christmas Island marathon, Nanny
Journalist John Shaw from Sydney
KrF's Prime Minister candidate Kjell Magne Bondevik
Leader of the Australian seamen's union, Paddy Crumlin
Leader of the political party Høyre (Conservative Party), Jan Petersen
Local sources on Christmas Island
News.com.au.(reader Steve Brisbane, immigrant Stuart and Professor Hamish McCallum)
Norway's Ambassador to Australia Ove Thorsheim
Norway's Ambassador to Australia Ove Thorsheim
Norway's Ambassador to Australia Ove Thorsheim
Norway's Ambassador to Australia Ove Thorsheim
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Kathrine Biering
Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg
Norwegian Ship Owners' Association Director Ole Kristian Bærvahr
NRK
NRK's TV program Dagsrevyen
NTB
NTB
NTB's Sydney correspondent
Publican Gary
Publican on Christmas Island
Reuters
Reuters (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
Reuters (Political commentator Robert Manne)
Shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Director of Information, Hans Christian Bangsmoen
Shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Director of Information, Hans Christian Bangsmoen
Shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Director of Information, Hans Christian Bangsmoen
Shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Director of Information, Hans Christian Bangsmoen
Shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Director of Information, Hans Christian Bangsmoen
Shipping line Wilh. Wilhelmsen's spokesperson
Spokesperson for the refugees aboard the Tampa, Mohammad Ali
Sunday Herald Sun
The Advertiser

The Australian
The Australian
The Australian federal judge Tony North
The Australian online (Steve Tate in one reader contribution, Carol Forde in another)
The Australian; journalist Elisabeth Wynhausen
The Canberra Times
The Canberra Times (James Jupp, director for the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies in the Australian National University)
The Copenhagen Institute of Future Studies
The deputy leader for the UN's humanitarian program in Afghanistan, Antonio Donini
The Doctor Kevin
The Indonesian Navy's Spokesperson, admiral Franky Kaihatu
The IOM (The International Organisation for Migration in Geneva)
The IOM's Information Officer Chris Lom (The International Organisation for Migration in Geneva)
The Norwegian Maritime Directorate
The Norwegian Maritime Directorate; Legal Adviser Else Heldre
The Norwegian Norwegian Refugee Council
The Norwegian Refugee Council, political advisor on refugees Ragna Vikøren
The Norwegian Refugee Council, political advisor on refugees Ragna Vikøren
The Police Officer leading the interviews of the refugees on Christmas Island
The Refugees Council's leader in Canberra, Margaret Piper
The Socialist Left Party's Deputy Leader Øystein Djupedal
The UN
Truck Driver Darrell on Christmas Island
UNHCR
UNHCR, Mary Robinson
UNHCR's Press Officer Ron Redman
UNHCR's Press Officer, Ron Redmond
UNHCR-spokesperson Kris Janowski
UNHCR-spokesperson Kris Janowski

<b>Dagbladet</b>
A diplomatic source
A Diplomat in Oslo
A Diplomat, Norwegian, who wishes to remain anonymous
AAP (citing Labor Senate Leader John Faulkner)
AFP
Aftenposten
Anonymous sources
AP (Foreign Minister Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil, of the Afghani Government)
Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
Australia's Prime Minister John Howard
Australian authorities
Australian Media
Australian radio (the skipwrecked)
BBC (Rahim Husseini, Afghan refugee)
Crew, Captain Arne Rinnan
Crew, Captain Arne Rinnan
Crew, Captain Arne Rinnan
Crew, Captain Arne Rinnan
Crew, Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Crew, Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Crew, Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Crew, First Officer Grete Bugge
Crew, First Officer Grete Bugge
Crew, Midshipsman Hans Rickard Johansen
Crew, Radio Officer Ramish Iyengar
Diplomatic sources
Director of Medicine Tore Steen
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland
Herald Sun
Herald Sun
Indonesia's Foreign minister Hasan Wirayuda
Ivan Shearer, Australian Professor of International Law
Ivan Shearer, Australian Professor of International Law
Next of kin, Bente Wang, mother of Repair Man Terje Wang
Next of kin, Britt Bugge, mother of First Officer Grete Bugge
Next of kin, Grethe Rinnan, the Captain's wife

Next of kin, Jan Martin Maltau, father of Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Next of kin, wife Hanne Grotjord
Norway's Ambassador to Australia, Ove Thorsheim
Norway's Ambassador to Australia, Ove Thorsheim
Norwegian authorities
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Kleppsvik
Norwegian Foreign Office Press Officer Karsten Kleppsvik
NRK's "ukeslutt" (Ragnar Kvam)
NTB
NTB (Australian Police)
Opposition leader from the Australian Labor party, Kim Beazley
Professional Footballer Clayton Zane
Rescue Coordination Centre (RCC); An employee who did not give their name
SBS (cites Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer)
Senator for the anti-immigration Australian political party One Nation, Len Harris
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Information Officer, Hans Chr. Bangsmoen
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Information Officer, Hans Chr. Bangsmoen
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Information Officer, Hans Chr. Bangsmoen
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Information Officer, Hans Chr. Bangsmoen
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Information Officer, Hans Chr. Bangsmoen
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Information Officer, Hans Chr. Bangsmoen
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Media Consultant Per Rønnevig
Shipping Company Wilh. Wilhelmsen's Media Consultant Per Rønnevig
Socialist Left Partry's leader Kristin Halvorsen
Sources Dagbladet has taked to
Swedish Dagbladet
Sydney Morning Herald
Sydney Morning Herald (Harbourmaster Johari Sukaimi)
The Australian Military
The crew of the Tampa
The International Organisation for Migration, Vienna
The Leader for the Democratic Party in Australia
The Norwegian Foreign Office, a source
The Norwegian Refugee Council, General Secretary Steinar Sørli
The Norwegian Refugee Council, General Secretary Steinar Sørli
TV 2 (Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg)
UNHCR's Spokesperson Kris Jankowsky
UNHCR's Spokesperson Kris Jankowsky

<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>
“People and Place” by researcher Adrienne Millbank in the Parliamentary Library in Canberra
A caller
A foreign affairs official based in Jakarta
A Government source
A letter from the refugees onboard the Tampa
A letter to constituents from Employment Services Minister Mal Brough
A letter to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan from Taliban Foreign Minister Wakil Ahmed Mutawakel
A poll the Daily Telegraph has made
A poll the Daily Telegraph has made
A poll the Daily Telegraph has made
A poll the Daily Telegraph has made
A search and rescue spokesman
A source onboard Tampa
A spokesman for Australia’s Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia’s Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia’s Foreign Minister Alexander Downer
A spokesman for the Australian PM
A spokesman for the Norwegian foreign minister
A spokesman for the UN High Commission for Human Rights in East Timor
A spokesman for the Wilhelmsen line
A spokeswoman for the South Australian disability services
A spokeswoman for the Un high commission for refugees
A statement from Opposition leader Beazley and his foreign affairs spokesman Laurie Brereton
A statement from the Federal Police
A statement from the Wilhelmsen shipping line
A three point plan from the UNHCR
A UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokeswoman in Canberra
ABC Radio (Australia’s Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock)
ABC Radio (Australia’s Prime Minister John Howard)
ABC's Lateline (Green's senator Bob Brown)
Aftenposten
Ambassador Ove Thorsheim
Amnesty International
An agreement between the two sides in the court
An Australian federal police report
An opinion Poll
An opinion poll
An opinion poll
An opinion poll
An opinion poll



BBC Services
Beazley
Beazley
Broadcast regulations
Captain Arne Rinnan
Captain Arne Rinnan
Captain Arne Rinnan
Captain Rinnan
Captain Rinnan
Captain Rinnan's wife Grethe
Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Christmas Island prosecutor Sergeant Russell Northcott
Christmas Island's administrator Bill Taylor
Communication logs between the Tampa and the Australian Search and Rescue
Court documents
Dagbladet
De facto Foreign Minister in East Timor, Jose Ramos Horta
Defence minister Peter Reith
Democrats immigration spokesman Andrew Bartlett
Democrats Senator Andrew Bartlett
Dick Woolcott, former Australian Ambassador to Jakarta
Doctors Without Borders Australia Executive Director David Curtis
Federal Court Justice Tony North
Federal police commissioner Mick Keelty
Federal Police intelligence
Figures collated by the UNHCR
First Officer Grete Bugge
Former Labor PM Bob Hawke
General surgon Siad Abraham from Afghanistan, who now lives in Australia
Greens senate member Bob Brown
Greens senator Bob Brown
Grethe Rinnan
Immigration Department statistics
Indonesian foreign affairs chief Hasan Wirayuda
Indonesian foreign affairs spokesman Wahid Supriyadi
Indonesian Foreign Minister Hasan Wirayuda
Indonesian Foreign Minister Wirayuda
Indonesian people smuggler Bastian Disan
Indonesia's Foreign Affairs Spokesman Wahid Supriyadi
Indonesia's Foreign Minister Hasan Wirayuda
Indonesia's Foreign Minister Hassan Wirayuda



Indonesia's Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sulaiman Abdul Manan
Intelligence sources
International law
International law
International law expert Professor Sam Blay from the University of Technology
International law expert, Professors Don Rothwell from the University of Sydney
International lawyer Ben Saul, co-author of Future Seekers: Refugees and the Law in Australia
Justice of the Peace acting as the magistrate, Tony Hill
Justice Tony North
Justice Tony North
Justice Tony North
Justice Tony North
Justice Tony North
Labor Senate Leader John Faulkner
Labor sources
Latest immigration department statistics
Maritime law expert Professor Don Rothwell from the University of Sydney
Maritime Union of Australia's national secretary Paddy Crumlin
Muslim boys
Nauru's president Rene Harris
New Zealand's Prime Minister Helen Clark
New Zealand's pm Helen Clark
Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland
Norway's Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg
Norway's foreign ministry spokesman Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian ambassador Ove Thorsheim
Norwegian Ambassador to Australia, Ove Thorsheim
Norwegian Foreign Ministry Spokesman, Karsten Klepsvik
Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland
Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland
Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland
NZ Prime Minister Helen Clark
Opposition backbencher Harry Quick
Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Opposition leader Kim Beazley
Opposition leader Kim Beazley
Opposition leader Kim Beazley
Opposition Leader Kim Beazley's speech to the Asia Australia Institute in Sydney
Ove Tvedt, an official of the Copenhagen based Baltic and International Maritime Council

Papua New Guinea
Professor Sam Bley of International Law at Sydney's University of Technology
Radio 2UE (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
Radio National (an Afghan refugee)
Regional Director of Wilh Wilhelmsen, Peter Dexter
Rhetoric from the Government benches
Rhonda Clarke, who manages the Sunset Lodge, Christmas Island
Royal Flying Doctor Service officer Peter Schuller
Senator Bob Brown
Senator Natasha Stott Despoja
Senior Vice President of shipping company Wallenius Wilhelmsen, Hans Christian Bangsmoen
Shadow minister for foreign affairs and trade, Michael Wali
Small Business Minister Ian Macfarlane
Solicitor-General David Bennett
Solicitor-General David Bennett, QC
Some Australians
Sources
Staff at the Woomera detention centre in South Australia
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
The ABC
The ABC
The ABC (the UNHCR's local representative, Marissa Bandharangshi)
The Afghan Consulate in Australia's spokesman Mahmoud Saikal
The Australian
The Australian (Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan)
The Australian democrats
The Australian federal police
The Australian Government
The Australian Government's proposed bill
The Australian Shipowners Association Chief Executive, Liew Russell
The bar Manager Sam Smyth on Christmas Island (Captain Arne Rinnan)
The boat people
The Denver Post
The East Timorese leaders
The Fairfax press

The Federal Government's Border Protection Bill
The Financial Times
The Guardian (Author Thomas Keneally)
The Indonesian Government
The international transport workers' federation's General Secretary David Cockcroft
The Jakarta-based International Organisation for Migration Regional Representative, Denis Nihill
The mother of First Officer Grete Bugge, Britt Bugge
The New York Times
The Norwegian freighter's agent
The Norwegian Government and its spokespeople
The Norwegians
The polls
The refugees onboard the Tampa
The Royal Flying Doctor Service
The shipping industry
The Sydney Morning Herald
The Times
The UN
The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson
The UN task force in East Timor
The Wall Street Journal
The wife of Captain Arne Rinnan, Grethe Rinnan
The wife of Tampa repairman Terje Wang, Bente Wang
Those studying the polls
Three lawyers representing the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties
Translator for the three prosecuted people smugglers
UN General Secretary Kofi Annan
UN High Commission for Refugees spokesman Kris Janowski
UN High Commission for Refugees spokesman Kris Janowski
UNHCR Mary Robinson
UNHCR-spokesman Ron Richmond
US Newspaper editorials
US State department spokesman Richard Boucher
VCCL vice president Greg Connelian
Vice President Greg Conian of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties
Vietnamese refugee daughter Anne
Vietnamese refugee Minh Truong
Wilhelmsen
Wilhelmsen's Peter Dexter

Wilhelmsen's regional director Peter Dexter
Yesterday's Daily Telegraph (Nauru's president Rene Harris)
Yesterday's The Daily Telegraph (Professor Sam Blay, an international law specialist at the University of Technology, Sydney)
Zainal Majid, part time fisherman

<b>The Sydney Morning Herald</b>
20-year-old refugee Abdul Ghani
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
26-year-old Shorhatangis
28-year old taxi driver Syead Ashraf
28-year-old car mechanic Arifo Nazari from Kabul
2gb talkback radio
32 people from Afghanistan held in the Singkawang jail
35-year-old nurse Abdul Rashid Matin
55-year-old Qar Bambee
60 minutes Sunday night - interview with a raped woman
60-year-old Hatam Big
90-year-old Bidy Mohamad
A 1998 article, Sydney's Ethnic Underclass, by demographers Bob Birrell and Byung Soo Seol
A 19-year-old carpet weaver from Kabul, Sayed Manan Hussaini
A BBC online editorial
A cable from the Tampa
A CNN Asia editorial
A counsel for an application in Federal Court regarding the moving of the Tampa out of Australian waters, Mr Julian Burnside
A defence commentator, the Executive Director of the Australian defence Association, Mr Michael O'Connor
A defence source
A foreign observer
A Government source
A group of Afghan refugees now released into the community
A group of Iraqi refugees now released into the community
A Herald-AC Nielsen poll
A Herald-AC Nielsen poll
A Labor Federal MP for Werriwa, Mr Mark Latham
A legal expert: Dr Ivan Shearer, Professor of International Law at the University of Sydney
A letter from the boat people given to the Norwegian ambassador
A letter from the boat people onboard the Tampa
A letter from the refugees onboard Tampa to the Norwegian Ambassador to Australia, Ove Thorsheim
A listener who seems to be Norwegian

A message from the Shire council, the Union of Christmas Island workers, the Chinese literary Association, the Islamic Council and the Christmas Island Woman's Association to the Tampa's crew
A middle-aged European man
A Nauru Government spokesman
A Nauru resident
A Norwegian foreign office official
A Norwegian police official
A Norwegian radio medical service
A political friend of the journalist
A poll from Herald/AC Nielsen
A poll from Newspoll
A poll run by the SMH based on all the letters they received
A private aid group, Tenaganita's program co-ordinator, Aegile Fernandez
A report by Doctors Without Borders
A retiring member of Throsby in NSW, Mr Collin Hollis
A senior official at Indonesia's Justice Ministry, Lukmiardi
A source from the Parliament House mailroom
A speech given by the former Conservative leader in Britain, William Hague
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock
A spokesman for Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland, Mr Karsten Klepshvik
A spokesman for Norway's Foreign Minister Thorbjørn Jagland
A spokesman for the Australian Maritime Safety Authority
A spokesman for the Customs Minister, Senator Ellison
A spokesman for the Immigration Department
A spokesman for the Norwegian Embassy
A spokesman for the Rescue Co-ordination Centre in Canberra, Mr Bill Mitchell
A spokesman for Wilhelmsen in Oslo
A spokesman the Minister for Defence, Mr Reith
A spokeswoman for the Australian NGO Working Group
A spokeswoman for the New Zealand Prime Minister
A spokeswoman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees
A statement issued by the local Government on Christmas Island, Union of Christmas Island workers, the Chinese literary Association, the Islamic Council and the Christmas Island Woman's Association

A study by the French agency Doctors without Borders in the refugee camps on the Iranian border
A study commissioned by the Immigration Department
A TV interview (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
A UN official in Jakarta
A UNICEF study of children in Kabul
A wild rumour
A young mother, Marcuarh
ABC Radio (Arne Rinnan)
ABC Radio (Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock)
ABC Radio (The country director for UNHCR in Indonesia, Mr Raymond Hall)
ABC radio (The premier of South Australia, Mr Olsen and Sydney Anglican Archbishop, the Most Rev Peter Jensen)
ABC Radio(Rinnan)
ABC Television (Labor's Duncan Kerr)
ABC TV (Australia's Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock)
ABC TV (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
ABC's Lateline (Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer)
ABC's Lateline (Senator Brown)
Administrator Bill Taylor
Afghan refugees
Afghanistan scholar Dr William Marley
Aftenposten
Aftenposten
Aftenposten (quoting a norwegian foreign office spokesman)
An Afghan man
An Afghan man
An Australian delegate at an international conference in 1939
An editorial in Austria's Die Presse
An engineer who is planning to escape Afghanistan
An Indonesian presidential palace source
An Indonesian undercover policeman
An international law expert, the ANU's Dr Jean Pierre Fonteyne
An observer
An official attached to Norway's Aliens office, Mr Erling Hansen
An order from the PM
An UNHCR spokeswoman, Ms Ellen Hansen
An Uzbek farmer in Jalozi refugee camp, Abdullah
Andrew Clennell
Associate Professor and director of the Australian Defence Study Centre in Canberra, Anthony Bergin
Associate Professor Don Rothwell of Sydney University



Australian Shipping News (Mr Chris Horrocks, the secretary general of the International Chamber of Shipping)
Australians who are enthusiastic about the 'anywhere but here policy'
Australia's defence minister mr. reith
Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer
Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer
Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer
Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer
Australia's Foreign Minister Alexander Downer's spokesman
Australia's Human Rights Commissioner, Dr Sev Ozdowski
Australia's Migration Act
Azadi Afghan radio
Britain's Daily Telegraph
Canada's head of immigration department in 1939
Captain Arne Rinnan
Captain Arne Rinnan
Chairman of shipping Australia, Mr John Lyons
Channel 9
Channel 9's A Current Affair (138 000 telephone votes)
Chief Officer Christian Maltau
Chris Janowski, of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Christmas island harbourmaster Don O'Donnell
Christmas Island Shire Councillor Mark Bennett
Christmas Island's pilot, Captain Neilo McGovern
Citizens of Christmas Island
Counsel for Mr Vadarlis, Mr Gavan Griffith, QC
Crew members of the Tampa
Defence sources
Deutsche Welle
Director of the New York based International Centre for Humanitarian Reporting, Charles Norchi
Diving school owner Marcus Cathrien
Djono, a guard on the prison island Nusa Kembangan
Documents tendered in the Federal court in Melbourne
Donald Horne's book 'looking for leadership: Australia in the Howard Years'
Dr Jean-Pierre Fonteyne, senior lecturer and convenor of the Australian National University's graduate international law program
Email from Dr Vrasidas Karalis
Email from Simon Mansfield
Email from Stewart and Cathy Williamson
Evening Standard
Federal court documents



Federal Opposition Leader Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley and assorted Labor lesser rights
Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley's Labor Opposition
Figures for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA)
Figures supplied by Indonesia's directorate General of Immigration
Files held by Australien officials in Jakarta and Camberra
Furious callers
Gold Coast Bulletin (Nauru's Solicitor-General and former Gold Coast Solicitor, Ms Kerry Smith)
Government sources
Green's Senator Bob Brown
Groups assisting displaced migrant workers
Head of the police foreign monitoring office on Lombok, Gira Prawijaya
Hong Kong's South China Morning Post
Human Rights Watch's refugee co-ordinator, Ms Rachel Reilly
Immigration Officers
Indonesia
Indonesia
Indonesian Government sources
Indonesian officials
Indonesian senior officials
Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat
Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat
Indonesia's Armed Forces Spokesman Rear Marshal Graitto Usodo
Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mr Hassan Wirayuda
Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mr Hassan Wirayuda
Indonesia's new Foreign Minister Mr Hassan Wirayudha
Iraqi refugees
Islanders
Johari Sukaimi, a director of Indian Ocean Stevedores
Johnny Mohammed Jamily
Julian Burnside, QC (lawyer)
Justice Tony North

Justice Tony North
Khairin Amin (11 year old schoolboy)
Kyodo (Japan)
Labor
Labor
Labor leader Mr Beazley
Labor's spokesman on immigration matters, Concetto Antonio Sciacca
Labour Opposition leader Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Labour Opposition leader Federal Opposition Leader Kim Beazley
Labour senator Barney Cooney
Labour's foreign affair's spokesman, Mr Laurie Brereton
lecturer in international law at the Australian National University, Dr. Jean-Pierre Fonteyne.
Lecturer in politics at the university of NSW Australian Defence Force Academy, Dr John Walker
legal experts
legal experts
letter from Gina Pak
Liberal Moderate Mr Petro Georgiou
Liberal MP Mr Peter Slipper
Liberal Party moderate Mr Petro Georgiou
Local aid workers
local high school teacher Wendy Taylor on Christmas Island
local shopkeeper Mr Michael McCallum
locals at Nauru
Malaysian authoroties
Manager of Christmas Island resort Mr Michael Asims
Marine Experts
maritime policy scholar at Wollogong university and former RAN commodore, Sam Bateman
Melbourne Radio (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
Melbourne Radio 3AW (Concetto Antonio Sciacca)
Melbourne solicitor Mr Eric Vadarlis, who has served a writ against the Immigration minister.
Michael Barak from Israel
Michael Crawford from Woolloomooloo
Mohammad Hussain, 32
Mohammed H
Mohammed H
Mr Beazley
Mr Frode Forfang of the Directorate of Immigration
Mr Gavan Griffith, QC, counsel for Mr Vadarlis
Mr Gordon Thomson, Shire Councillor and General Secretary of the union of christmas island workers

Mr Greg Connellan, vice president of the Council for Civil Liberties
Mr Ian Rintoul of the Refugee Action Collective
Mr John Lines, head of Australian National Lines and chairman of Shipping Australia
Mr Kelana Arshad, who runs the stevedoring operation at Flying Fish Cove, Christmas Island
Mr Soh Boon Hwa, president of the Chinese Literary Association of Christmas Island
Nauru's President Mr Rene Harris
Nauru's President, Mr Rene Harris
New Zealand
New Zealand PM Ms Helen Clark
New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark
New Zealand's PM Helen Clark
Norway
Norway
Norway
Norway
Norway
Norway?
Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland
Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thorbjørn Jagland
Norwegian ministry of foreign affairs
Norwegian public radio (Prime minister Mr Stoltenberg)
NRK Radio (Foreign minister Thorbjørn Jagland)
NSW's deputy chair of the Parliament's human rights subcommittee, Colin Hollis
numerous world figures
NZ PM Ms Helen Clark
One Nation's national director, Mr Frank Hough
One Nation's State Director, Mr Trevor Clarke
One of the Agency staff who visited a IDP camp in Afghanistan
One of the captain's cables
Opinion polls in Norway
Perth's 6PR breakfast session (Concetto Antonio Sciacca)
Phone-in polls run by television stations
Polish novelist Joseph Conrad
Polls and emails from the SMH website
Premier Bob Carr of NSW
President Harris' office
president mrs Miriam Kawi of the island's Muslim Women's Association
Private agencies (NGOs)
Professor of international law at the university of Sydney, Ivan Shearer

Rabbi Stahl
Rachmat Tanjung, the head of the Foreigners Supervisory Co-ordination Office at the Directorate General of Immigration
Radio (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
Radio (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
Regional director of wilhelmsen Mr Peter Dexter
Regional director of Wilhelmsen shipping line, Mr Peter Dexter
Rehame monitoring service
Reports from Washington and European capitals
Representatives of 30 mainly international shipping lines
Resident Ms Lin Gaff of Christmas Island
Reuters (an Indonesian spokes man, First Admiral Franky Kayhatu)
Royal Flying Doctor Service (RFDS)-doctor in Cairns
Rudy Jacobson from USA
Several international law experts
Shipping Australia's Chief Executive, Mr Llev Russell
Shopkeeper Faizullah from Afghanistan
Some Labor figures
Sources close to the military operation onboard Tampa
sources in Indonesia
Spokesman for New Zealand's prime minister, Miss Helen Clark
Statistics Norway
Survivors from boats not seaworthy
Sweden
Sydney Radio (Australia's Prime Minister John Howard)
Talkback rado's callers
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa Captain Arne Rinnan
Tampa's radio operator Mr Ramesh Iyengar
Tariq Ahmad Khan, provincial coordinator of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
The 'chap on the news'
The 1951 Convention of the Status of Refugees
The 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
The acting chairman of the Catholic Social justice Council, Bishop William Morris
The Art of War by Sun Tzu
The Attorney-General, Mr Williams
The Australian
The Australian federation of Islamic councils chief executive, Mr Amjad Mehboob

The Australian Government
The Australian Government
The Australian Government
The Australian Government
The BBC
The book Gulliver's travels by Jonathan Swift
The chief executive of the Australian Ship Owners Association, Mr Lachlan Payne
The christmas island's civil society
The Commonwealth Solicitor General, Mr David Bennett, QC
The company operating Christmas Island port
The current Business review weekly (Economics' Chris Richardson)
The Daily Telegraph
The Daily Telegraph
The Daily Telegraph (Britain)
The director of Melbourne University's Institute for International Law, Professor Gillian Triggs
The Director of Public Prosecutions, Nicholas Cowdrey, QC
The editorial in The Australian Jewish News last Friday
The Extremist progress party (Frp)
The federal police
The Federal Treasurer, Mr Costello
The general manager of Australian Search and Rescue, Ms Rowena Barrell
The General Secretary of The union of christmas island workers, Gordon Thomson
The General Secretary of the Union of Christmas Island Workers, Mr Gordon Thomson
The Government medical officer, Dr Michael Kwek
The Government's own report from Philip Flood, AO, former Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
The Green's Senator Bob Brown
The Guardian
The Guardian
The Guardian
The head of Lombok police's Foreigners Monitoring Office, Giri Prawijaya
The Herald (letters to The editor)
The Herald weekend poll
The honorary consul for non Taliban Afghanistan, Mr Mahmoud Saikal
The Independent
The Independent
The International Organisation for Migration
The Jakarta Post
The Liberal's senator Ross Lightfoot
The nine network(Rinnan)

The Norway post
The Norway Post
The norwegian ambassador to Australia, Ove Thorsheim
The Norwegian Maritime Directorate
The NSW Jewish board of deputies president Mr Stephen Rothman
The polls
The President of Australian Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Simon Rice
The Queensland Premier, Mr Beattie
The regional director of Wilhelmsen Mr Peter Dexter
The Reserve Bank
The Secretary of the Immigration Department, Mr Bill Farmer
The Secretary of the Immigration Department, Mr William Farmer
The senior marine search officer on duty at AUSR in Canberra
The south china morning post (Hong Kong)
The Sunday times (Britain)
The Sydney correspondent of the Guardian
The Sydney Morning Herald
The Times
The Times website
The tiny Pacific nation Tuvalu
The UN
The UN
The UN High Commissioner for Refugees
The UN High Commissioner for Refugees
The UN High Commissioner for refugees' director of protection, Erika Feller
The UN human rights chief, Mrs Mary Robinson
The UN secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan
The UN Secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan
The Union Secretary Gordon Thomson of Christmas Island
The uniting Church national president, professor James Haire
The Victorian Council for Civil Liberties
The wife, Gwen
Translator Jeahon Shorhatangis
UN high commissioner Mary Robinson
UN Sources
UNHCR, the UN human rights chief, Mrs Mary Robinson
Union official Gordon Thomson, a Shire Councillor at Christmas Island
UNSW's Dr Stephen Hall
Victorian Liberal Petro Georgiou

Well placed Government sources
Wilhelmsen line regional director Peter Dexter
Wilhelmsen shipping line
Wilhelmsen shipping line
Wilhelmsen's regional director, Mr Peter Dexter
Wire.service Reuters
Yesterdays Herald (a Government MP (Probably Labor))
Yesterday's opinion polls

## Appendix 5: Quantitative code form

### V1: Aftenposten

V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11
28.8.01	6	1	Flyktningene truer med å kaste seg i havet	8	3	3	1	1	2105
28.8.01	6	1	UD: Ikke Norges ansvar	1	1	3	5	4,8,8,6(3), 9	439
28.8.01	6	1	Australierne viser ingen nåde overfor "snikere" i innvandringskøen	1	0	2	5	8,8,6,3,8	266
28.8.01	13	1	Asylsøkerdrama i Det indiske hav	6	0	3	0		237
29.8.01	8	1	Ønskes velkommen av øyboere	1	2	2	4	12,12,12,12	647
29.8.01	8	1	Tilstanden forverres for sultestreikende flyktninger	1	1	2	1	2	241
29.8.01	8	1	Valgkamp og menneskelighet	5	1	2	2	6(8), 5(8)	256
29.8.01	8	1	Jagland til Australias utenriksminister: - Inhumant og uakseptabelt	1	0	2	2	4,4	347
29.8.01	8	1	Heller dø enn å vende tilbake til Indonesia	2	0	4	1	25	76
29.8.01	8	1	«Tampa»-saken opprører og engasjerer australierne	1	1	2	2	8,12	237
29.8.01	8	1	Taliban ber for flyktningene	2	0	3	1	16	30
29.8.01	13	1	Karikatur	11	1	2	0		349
30.8.01	8	1	Australiere rystet over sin regjering	1	2	2	3	17,17,8	806
30.8.01	8	1	"Tampa-loven" ble nedstemt	2	0	2	1	5	29
30.8.01	8	1	Kapteinen nekter å seile "Tampa" fra Australia	1	1	3	1	2	817
30.8.01	8	1	- Boikott kan bli aktuelt	8	0	2	1	8	162
30.8.01	8	1	Ingen av partene vil fire en tomme	1	0	3	2	4,3	159
30.8.01	8	1	FN-organ inviterer Norge, Indonesia og Australia til forhandlinger	2	0	3	1	8	81
30.8.01	8	1	-Vi bør ta i mot flyktningene hvis det er eneste utvei	8	0	2	3	11,11,11	148
30.8.01	21	1	Australia som bølge	6	0	2	0		237
31.8.01	6	1	Optimismen overtar i UD	1	0	1	6	4,5,4,5,8,8	179
31.8.01	6	1	Rystet ut av dvalen	1	3	3	1	12	854
31.8.01	6	1	Norsk ambassadør til «Tampa» i dag	1	0	3	1	4	133
31.8.01	7	1	«Skammelig og pinlig» for Australia	1	1	2	4	5,5,5,5(17-17-8)	1306
31.8.01	7	1	Landet med flest flyktninger i verden	1	0	3	3	8,8,8	275
31.8.01	13	1	Drømmen om et hvitt Australia	4	1	5	0	N/a	0
31.8.01	14	1	Ikke døm alle Australiere	10	0	5	0	N/a	0
1.9.01	7	1	Flyktninger takker for redning	1	5	2	1	4	1214
1.9.01	7	1	- Fredsprisen til kaptein Rinnan!	1	0	2	2	12,12	241
1.9.01	7	1	Sjøfartsdirektoratet: - «Tampa» ikke sjødyktig	1	0	2	2	8,8	114



1.9.01	7	1	FN vil at flyktningene skal fordeles på flere land	1	1	3	3	8,4,6	296
1.9.01	7	1	Jagland avlyser reise	2	0	3	1	4	86
1.9.01	7	1	Åpner for å ta kvoteflyktninger	8	1	3	1	4	285
1.9.01	9	1	Båten er full og murene høye	5	1	2	0		859
1.9.01	10	1	Katastrofen i Australia	10	0	5	0	N/a	0
1.9.01	10	1	Er andre menneskers lidelser ingen valgkampsak?	10	0	5	0	N/a	0
2.9.01	8	1	Uvisst hvordan «Tampa»flyktningene skal reise	1	3	3	2	3,4	1269
2.9.01	8	1	Australia tvinger igjennom sin vilje	1	1	2	6	4,8,5,6,6,2	400
2.9.01	8	1	Økende motstand mot den australske regjeringens steile holdning	1	0	2	4	5,5(8),5(17-17),5	313
2.9.01	17	1	Du glade, grønne juleøy	3	5		6	12,12,12,12,12,12	1810
3.9.01	8	1	Rettstvist forsinker «Tampa»	1	2		5	5(8),3,4,3,3	679
3.9.01	8	1	Flyktningenes skjebne i Australias hender	1	1		5	4,8,5,2,5	276
3.9.01	8	1	«Mafiarede» og verdens største «gjødselbinge»	1	1		2	13(8),18	337
3.9.01	13	1	Skammens uke for Australia	6	0		1	5	262
4.9.01	8	1	«Tampa» er nå underveis til Singapore	1	0		1	12(14)	237
4.9.01	8	1	Lettelse om bord	8	0		1	2	135
4.9.01	8	1	Gjerdene rundt de rikes hus	5	0		2	8,8	254
4.9.01	13	1	Australian...sorry!	11	1		0		389
4.9.01	13	1	Nå er alt så billig	5	0		1	8	243
4.9.01	14	1	Byrdefordeling til sjøs	4	1			N/a	
5.9.01	14	0	UD og «Tampa»	10	0			N/a	
6.9.01	8	0	«Tampa» er vel i havn	1	0		2	2,3	127
6.9.01	22	0	«Tampa» og folkeretten	10	1			N/a	
7.9.01	6	1	Hele situasjonen var ganske uvirkelig Førstestyrmann Grete Bugge	1	1		5	1,1,1,1,1	1004

## V1: Dagbladet

V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11
28.8.01	2	1	Drama ved Juleøya	5	1	3	2	8,4	580
28.8.01	1,14,15	1	Menneskene ingen vil ha	1	3	3	5	2,1,1,1,1	2343
28.8.01	16	1	Her blir de reddet	1	2	2	2	1,1	638
28.8.01	16	1	UD: Vi har ikke ansvar	2	0	2	2	4,8	52
28.8.01	16	1	Ulovlig innvandring har blitt en het potet i den australske valgkampen	2	0	3	0		17.5
29.8.01	3	1	Flyktningene og vårt ansvar	6	0	2	1	5	198
29.8.01	18	1	Mann for sin skute	5	1	2	1	5(25)	207
29.8.01	22.23	1	Frykter for Terjes liv, Mannskapets familier fortviler	1	5	2	3	7,7,7	1336
29.8.01	23	1	Dysenteri herjer på "Tampa"	1	0	3	2	2,8	127
29.8.01	1.24	1	Siste: Kapteinen trosset australske myndigheter - kurs mot land. "Tampa" stoppet på grensa i natt	1	2	2	3	1,2,3	799
29.8.01	24	1	Jagland tordner mot Australia	1	0	2	2	4,9	187
29.8.01	24	1	FN burde kalle inn Norge og Australia til forhandlinger om flyktningene om bord i "Tampa"	2	0	2	1	11	21
30.8.01	3	1	Desperat	6	0	2	0		68
30.8.01	4.5	1	Flyktningene verden ikke vil ha	3	3	2	4	10,8,5(27),8	879
30.8.01	5	1	Milliardforretning	2	0	4	1	8	22
30.8.01	5	1	Dømmes for kristendom	2	0	4	1	6(16-16)	31
30.8.01	6.7	1	Lovforslag åpnet for å skyte kaptein Rinnan	1	3	2	6	6(10),10,10,5(3),3,5	1962
30.8.01	7	1	Arne hadde bare én tur igjen	1	0	2	2	7,5	135
30.8.01	8.9	1	Ble "Tampa" valgt ut? Statsminister Howard legger lokk på opplysninger om havariet	1	2	2	2	3(14), 4(14)	1114
30.8.01	8.9	1	Australia redd for å møte Norge	1	0	2	1	8	156
30.8.01	9	1	Ikke la dem dø	1	1	3	1	15	85
31.8.01	18.19	1	Ta over "Tampa"	1	4	2	8	5,4(14),4(14),8,3,3,14,2	1892
31.8.01	20	1	Bomskudd av statsministeren	5	3	2	1	5	869
1.9.01	16	0	Gjør klar for ilandstigning	1	0	2	1	5(12)	85
1.9.01	17	0	"Spleiselag" på flyktningene	1	1	2	2	6,4(14)	1130
1.9.01	17	0	Utenriksminister Thorbjørn Jagland deltar likevel ikke i rasismekonferansen i Durban, Sør-Afrika	2	0	4	0		12
2.9.01	15	1	Skarp advarsel til Australia	1	2	2	1	4	228
2.9.01	15	1	Vil dumpe flyktningene på øde øy	1	3	2	2	5(8) ,6	649
2.9.01	16.17	1	Jeg har aldri vært så opprørt	8	2	2	2	4,4	1172
2.9.01	53	1	Ta dem med hjem	10	1	5	0	N/a	0
3.9.01	3	0	Urett til havs	6	0	2	0		68

3.9.01	26.27	0	Det er levelig der ute, men heller utrivelig	1	4	3	4	4,14,4(14), 2	1138
3.9.01	27	0	Rinnan nektes advokat	1	1	2	1	4	81
4.9.01	2	0	Flyktninger til salgs	5	1	2	0		575
4.9.01	24	0	Fengslet for "Tampa"-dramaet	1	2	3	4	6(3), 2, 4, 5	598
4.9.01	45	0	Til det norske folk	10	1	5	0	N/a	0
5.9.01	23	0	Kan ha tapt millioner på "Tampa"	1	1	2	2	5,2	109
6.9.01	19	0	Vil ikke være helter	1	2	3	1	2	784
7.9.01	13	0	Hjem til mor og far	1	3	2	4	1,1,1,1	855
7.9.01	13	0	Kaptein Arne Rinnan og mannskapet om bord på "Tampa" fikk en hedersbevisning av de australske kommandosoldatene da de forlot skipet	2	0	1	1	1	22

## V1: The Daily Telegraph

V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11
27.8.01	13	0	434 refugees saved	1	1	3	5	3(14),3,8,8, 5(3)	384
27.8.01	13	2	Watery grave for smuggler	2	0	4	0		62
28.8.01	1.4	1	Nothing to lose	1	4	3	5	1,3,8,1,8	869
28.8.01	4.5	1	Refugee rescue ship turned away - Nation shun boat people nobody wants	1	6	3	8	3,9,4,3(14),8, 8,10,13(2)	1256
28.8.01	4	1	Captain's dilemma	2	1	1	2	3,1	73
28.8.01	5	1	The problem is desperate	5	0	1	1	3	96
28.8.01	5	1	A long journey of hope	2	0	3	1	3(14)	64
28.8.01	5	1	Regional sea change required	4	1	5	2	13(8),13(8)	0
28.8.01	16	1	Only real choice is to deny entry	6	0	1	1	3	250
28.8.01	17	1	Tough medicine to discourage others	5	1	1	1	13(8)	619
28.8.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
28.8.01	19	1	Cartoon	11	1	2			224
29.8.01	1.4	1	SAS troop alert	1	2	3	5	3,1,2,16,10	871
29.8.01	4.5	1	Lost at sea: the people that noone will take	1	3	3	6	4,9,3,3,1,2	1189
29.8.01	4	1	Many names, same people	2	0	1	2	9,3	44
29.8.01	4	1	Medical care 'not urgent'	2	0	4	1	8	44
29.8.01	5	1	Mixed views on what should be done	12	0	3	8	3,9,9,4,8,10,10	183
29.8.01	5	1	31 more deported	2	0	1	2	3,3	36
29.8.01	5	1	Navy on standby to help arrivals	1	0	3	2	3,12	248
29.8.01	30	1	Balancing sympathy and facts	6	0	1	2	8,19(8)	217
29.8.01	31	1	Ship has sailed on our selfish refugee policy	4	2	5	6	3,13(3),3,3,3, 13(8)	0
29.8.01	31	1	Unlucky for some	6	0	3	2	3,3	102
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	1	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	1	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	32	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	33	1	Cartoon	11	1	3			267
29.8.01	33	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	33	1	Poll	12	1	1	1	13(19)	68

30.8.01	1.4	1	Dawn mutiny	1	3	2	8	3,10,10,7,4,8,13(16), 13 (3)	860
30.8.01	2	1	Shame on you, Australia, says captain's wife	8	1	2	2	7.7	439
30.8.01	3	1	How the SAS operation unfolded	12	5	3	0		527
30.8.01	3	1	Playing politics on the high seas	1	0	3	2	3,1	211
30.8.01	3	1	Medical aid team heading for island	2	0	4	1	8	98
30.8.01	4.5	1	Resolute Howard refuses to budge	1	3	3	8	3,3,1,2,3,4,4,9	798
30.8.01	4	1	Q & A	8	0	1	1	8	145
30.8.01	4	1	A struggle worth a two-year wait	9	1	4	1	27	375
30.8.01	5	1	Worldwide hardline	12	0	3	0		131
30.8.01	5	1	Reasonable sea defence	2	0	1	1	13(3)	37
30.8.01	5	1	Shipping industry warns of dangers	1	0	2	2	8,8	110
30.8.01	24	1	Firm stand was the only option	6	0	1	0		223
30.8.01	25	1	Myopic view from moral high ground	5	2	1	3	10,10,3	571
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	1	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	27	1	Cartoon	11	1	2			267
30.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	27	1	Poll	12	1	1	1	13(19)	79
31.8.01	1.4	1	Warning shot	1	2	3	9	9,3,3(14),3(14),22,8,4,2,	834

								2	
31.8.01	4.5	1	Beazley scuttles bipartisan unity - Howard's motives attacked	1	2	2	5	10,3,10,8,8	667
31.8.01	4	1	Q & A	8	0	2	1	8	115
31.8.01	4	1	Captain still 'in control of ship'	1	1	3	6	1,5(1),5,5,5,5	339
31.8.01	4	1	HMAS Arunta vital statistics	12	0	4	0		30
31.8.01	4	1	Cargo of chips a temptation	2	0	4	1	2	51
31.8.01	5	1	Ambassador on Christas Island	1	1	3	1	4	129
31.8.01	5	1	Another day in limbo	2	0	3	0		41
31.8.01	5	1	MPs getting election jitters	1	0	3	1	10(14)	96
31.8.01	5	1	Possible next steps	12	0	3	0		30
31.8.01	24	1	Stateless and stuck at our door	6	0	1	2	13(8),13(5)	210
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	26	1	Letter	10	1	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Cartoon	11	1	2			267
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
31.8.01	27	1	Poll	12	1	1	1	13(19)	68
1.9.01	1.6	1	Norway blinks	1	1	3	7	4,3,3,8,8, 3(14),3	663

1.9.01	6.7	1	How events have evolved	12	4	3	0		354
1.9.01	6.7	1	People smugglers to reap \$25m	1	1	3	4	13(3),3,3,3	139
1.9.01	6	1	Aussies out on the edge	3	1	2	3	12,12,12	429
1.9.01	6	1	300 convicted for illegal trade	2	0	4	0		24
1.9.01	7	1	Q & A	12	0	3	3	22,8,13(8)	73
1.9.01	7	1	Court orders ship to stay out	2	0	3	1	3	47
1.9.01	7	1	Ambassador claims three critically ill	1	0	3	2	25,4	98
1.9.01	23	1	No easy options in stemming the tide	5	2	1	6	5(27),3,5, 13(8),10,10	555
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	24	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	25	1	Cartoon	11	1	2			253
1.9.01	25	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	25	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
1.9.01	25	1	Poll	12	1	1	1	13(19)	73
1.9.01	4*	1	Taliban fan flames of exodus	12	0	4	1	5	181
1.9.01	4,5*	1	All in the same boat	3	10	3	2	28,28	1857
2.9.01	1.4	1	Hardline PM ends crisis - Boat people will leave tomorrow	8	1	1	1	3	729
2.9.01	4.5	1	Military blockade to intercept smugglers	1	5	1	2	3,3(14)	1061
2.9.01	5	1	Time for action by UN	1	0	1	1	3	118
2.9.01	90.89	1	Holding back the tide - queuing at the gate of a luckier country	3	3	2	4	3,3,8,13(8)	2130
2.9.01	90	1	Rich irony surrounds PM rescue	4	1	5	0		0
2.9.01	91	1	Desperate people take to leaky boats	1	1	4	0		167
2.9.01	92	1	Cartoon	11	1	2	0		344
2.9.01	93	1	A bold display of leadership	6	0	1	0		230
2.9.01	93	1	Howard's victory shames critics	5	2	1	8	13(3),8,5,10, 5,5,10,10	594
2.9.01	96	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
2.9.01	96	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
2.9.01	96	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
2.9.01	136	1	Letter	10	0	5			0

2.9.01	136	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	1.4	1	Ships ready to go, Navy begins patrols as asylum seekers wait	1	2	1	9	8,8,3,5(3),3,1,25,13(8),2 6	852
3.9.01	4	1	Q & A	8	0	3	1	8	122
3.9.01	4.5	1	Pacific rescue: How the deal was done	1	5	1	4	3,3,19(26),20	716
3.9.01	4	1	Hon Tony Max North	2	0	4	0		34
3.9.01	5	1	The refugees' plea for help	4	3	5	0		0
3.9.01	5	1	We are miserable, oppressed	2	0	3	1	13(25)	62
3.9.01	5	1	Families join outcry	2	0	2	2	7,7	27
3.9.01	5	1	Accelerating to the Polls	5	0	1	1	10	135
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	19	1	Cartoon	11	1	2			233
3.9.01	19	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
3.9.01	19	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
4.9.01	4.5	1	Freighter departs amid world storm	1	10	2	7	3,4,5,5,5,20,22	1218
4.9.01	4	1	Warships to patrol off WA	2	0	4	1	3	35
4.9.01	4	1	Bullets, detonators posted to MPs	1	0	3	2	5(10),10	106
4.9.01	4	1	Anger over delay by 'tampering' do-gooders	1	0	2	3	3,8,8	135
4.9.01	5	1	Australia accepts responsibility	8	0	3	1	8	127
4.9.01	16	1	Government authority challenged	6	0	1	2	3,3	229
4.9.01	17	1	Ship of state on collision course	5	2	1	1	5	587
4.9.01	17	1	Don't sigh too soon Australia, it's not over yet	5	1	3	2	13(3),17	142
4.9.01	17	1	UN ducks the issue on illegals	5	0	1	4	4,1,8,22	236
4.9.01	18	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
4.9.01	19	1	Cartoon	11	1	2			243
4.9.01	19	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
4.9.01	19	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
4.9.01	19	1	Letter	10	0	5			0



4.9.01	19	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	4.5	0	Accused crew's plea for work	1	2	3	5	25,25,3,3, 13(3)	1060
5.9.01	4	0	A touch of comfort during ordeal	1	1	3	0		122
5.9.01	4	0	Island invites skipper back	2	0	3	1	12(1)	176
5.9.01	4	0	Captain's plea: Look after my guests	1	1	3	6	1,13(8),13(8), 13(8),5(3),10	205
5.9.01	5	0	NZ decision questioned	2	0	3	2	20.22	27
5.9.01	5	0	Howard may have been within his rights: Judge	1	0	1	2	3.8	110
5.9.01	5	0	Details to be recorded en route	1	0	3	1	8	79
5.9.01	5	0	Beware 'great ugliness'	1	0	3	4	10,13(3),13(8),13(8)	73
5.9.01	31	0	Buying votes with our good name	5	1	2	2	13(8),17	571
5.9.01	31	0	Lost in a labyrinth of foreign affairs	5	1	2	2	3,3	256
5.9.01	31	0	Beware bias in talkback	5	0	3	2	17,13(8)	118
5.9.01	32	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	32	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	32	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	32	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	32	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	32	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	33	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	33	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	33	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	33	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	33	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
5.9.01	33	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	11	0	Another wait for rescuees	1	0	2	4	3,13(8),8,5(8)	158
6.9.01	11	0	Shipowner Query	2	0	2	1	8	20
6.9.01	23	0	Media, UN take refuge in a hatred for Howard	5	0	1	2	5,5(8)	118
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
6.9.01	24	0	Letter	10	1	5			0
6.9.01	25	0	Cartoon	11	1	2			267
6.9.01	25	0	Letter	10	0	5			0

6.9.01	25	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	8	0	Beazley to 'close the gate' on boat people	1	0	2	3	13(10-10), 13(10),3	177
7.9.01	8	0	First mate rescued refugees one by one	8	1	2	3	1,1,1	489
7.9.01	8	0	I'd do the same again, says captain	1	1	2	2	1,2	105
7.9.01	8	0	Manoora nears Darwin	2	0	4	0		32
7.9.01	8	0	Indonesia rejects refugee plan	2	0	4	1	9	67
7.9.01	8	0	Pawns' await finding	2	0	1	0		35
7.9.01	24	0	Drop this pointless exercise	6	0	1	1	3	610
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	26	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	27	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	27	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	27	0	Letter	10	0	5			0
7.9.01	27	0	Letter	10	0	5			0

\*Weekend supplement

## V1: Sydney Morning Herald

V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11
27.8.01	3	0	Freighter rescues refugees	1	0	3	3	3,3,3	128
28.8.01	1	1	Three nations cast refugees adrift	1	8	3	9	3,4,6 (9),1,3, 2,10,10,3	694
28.8.01	1,6	1	Cargo of human misery, with nowhere to go/Cargo of human misery, adrift on a ship of shame	1	3	3	5	1,5(1),3,4,3	699
28.8.01	6	1	Long sail looms as Cabinet casts spirit of sea law adrift	1	1	2	1	8	217
29.8.01	1	1	Mercy ship: help, we can't cope	1	3	3	8	3,1,3,2,3,5,10,3	978
29.8.01	7	1	MPs break ranks to fight tough line on refugees	1	1	2	3	10,10,10	401
29.8.01	7	1	Islanders choose humanity over hard line	1	0	2	5	12,12,12,13(12),12	175
29.8.01	7	1	Opinion divided	12	1	3	4	5,5,5,5(4)	95
29.8.01	7	1	Indonesia a stepping stone to new home	1	0	4	1	5(8)	105
29.8.01	12	1	Thus far and no further	6	0	1	1	3	241
29.8.01	13	1	Beazley is not about to rock refugee boat	5	0	1	5	10,10,5,19,5	284
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
29.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5			0
30.8.01	1	1	Troops told: whatever it takes	1	1	3	7	3,4,5(3),13(1),3(14),2,4	987
30.8.01	6	1	Howard's stance absurd, says Norway	1	1	2	3	4,5(4),4,	729
30.8.01	6	1	Timor factor makes it hard to deal with Jakarta	1	1	3	6	3(14),3,10,3, 3,9	625
30.8.01	6	1	Strong sense of shame on island proud of its multiracial tradition	1	0	2	3	12,13(12),12	231
30.8.01	6	1	Australia has right to board vessel	1	0	3	2	8,8	172
30.8.01	1,6	1	Guarding the Tampa, in case they jump overboard	1	1	3	3	1,2,13(1)	234

30.8.01	7	1	Howard set on a risky political course	5	2	2	2	3,10,	338
30.8.01	7	1	Good name takes a battering	1	0	2	9	6,5,5,5,5,5,5,5	176
30.8.01	7	1	Smugglers are 'scum of the earth'	1	3	2	7	5(10-8),10,10,8,8,16	341
30.8.01	12	1	The SAS on board	6	0	1	0		193
30.8.01	12	1	Compassion and the fair-go principle lost at sea	5	0	2	0		357
30.8.01	12	1	Open-door refugee policy is a recipe for destruction	5	0	1	0		382
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	1	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
30.8.01	13	1	Cartoon with no name	11	1	3	0		316
30.8.01	22	1	Know your enemy	7	1	4	2	13(8),4	133
31.8.01	1	1	Australia fights to save face	1	2	2	11	3,3,20,9,3,3,8,10,5,2,2	897
31.8.01	1, 11	1	Locals smell a backflip and break out the tents	1	0	2	8	12,12,3,12,12, 12,5(3),3	273
31.8.01	1	1	Cartoon with no name	11	1	4			14
31.8.01	10	1	What the politicians say	12	5	3	5	3,10,20,3,9	244
31.8.01	10	1	Insults fly as the parties rumble	1	2	2	4	3,10,3,10	820
31.8.01	10	1	Agency disputes Ruddock figures	1	1	2	3	3,8,3	101
31.8.01	10	1	Failed emergency legislation would have made Australia a laughing stock	1	1	2	2	8,8	373
31.8.01	11	1	What the papers say	12	0	2	6	5,5,5,5,3,5	213
31.8.01	11	1	The world view - not a pretty picture	1	1	2	9	5,5,5,5,5,5,5,5	701
31.8.01	11	1	Lawyers want Afghans to take refuge in the courts	1	1	3	3	8,8,8	404
31.8.01	11	1	Speck of an isle in eye of storm	1	1	4	1	8	229
31.8.01	14	1	PM, Beazley and Tampa - all at sea	5	1	2	7	21,8,10,3,8,8,9	753
31.8.01	14	1	Humanity adrift as leaders' morals sink to new low	4	0	5	1	13(8)	0
31.8.01	10	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0

[illegible]

31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
31.8.01	15	1	Cartoon with no name	11	1	2	0		316
31.8.01	15	1	Cartoon with no name	11	1	2	0		48
31.8.01	24	1	Army PR	12	1	2	0		45
31.8.01	24	1	Shipping notice	7	0	2	1	5	41
1- 2.9.01	1	1	Blowtorch on Australia	1	1	2	7	8,3,2,4,8,20,4	762
1- 2.9.01	1, 6	1	They're sick, tired but determined, says shuttle diplomat	1	0	3	1	4	250
1- 2.9.01	6	1	UN rights chief aims at Howard	1	0	2	4	8,8,8,8	214
1- 2.9.01	6	1	Ruling buys vessel more time	1	0	3	3	8,8,8	90
1- 2.9.01	6	1	Poorest nations shouldering the biggest burden	1	0	2	2	5.8	172
1- 2.9.01	6	1	How times change	12	3	2	1	3	244
1- 2.9.01	7	1	PM unruffled as Megawati fails to call back	1	1	2	5	5(3),9(14), 9(14),9(14),3	291
1- 2.9.01	7	1	Locals have more than one reason for letting them land	1	1	2	6	12,12,12,12,12,12	398
1- 2.9.01	7	1	Troops avoid talk, lest they hear a sound case	1	0	2	4	3(14),5(3),8,8	157
1- 2.9.01	25, 34	1	Between heaven and hell	3	1	2	15	3,3,8,5(17),13(5),10,8,1,4,13(8),12,12,9,22,13(8)	1221
1- 2.9.01	26	1	Put a cuppa on, the bombers are coming	7	1	2	2	22,5	336
1- 2.9.01	26	1	When rattling your sabre, don't pick on Norway	2	0	2	1	23	83
1- 2.9.01	26	1	Line-up	11	1	2	0		171
1- 2.9.01	34	1	Howard hit by ship's wash	5	1	2	7	3,5(3),8 (14), 8, 3(14),	864

[illegible]

[illegible]



3.9.01	11	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
3.9.01	11	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
3.9.01	11	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
3.9.01	11	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
3.9.01	11	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
3.9.01	18	1	Off the field, Howard owes the beaten Kiwis, big time	7	1	3	1	17	352
4.9.01	1	1	Howard's Tampa-led recovery	1	4	1	4	13(19),3,3,3(14)	853
4.9.01	1, 10	1	Where the poor cry freedom, and sell their souls to people smugglers	1	2	4	1	13(8)	403
4.9.01	6	1	One Nation uses poll to test waters in wake of Tampa crisis	8	0	1	3	13(10),10,10	153
4.9.01	10	1	Tough time for Labor as nation rallies to PM	1	2	3	4	13(19),3,3,10	449
4.9.01	10	1	Eight at a time, asylum-seekers swap one floating home for another	1	1	2	2	8,12	634
4.9.01	10	1	Judge, QC take the national spotlight again	1	1	4	1	8	284
4.9.01	10	1	Battle to stay finds boat people case becoming bogged down in courts	1	0	3	5	8,3,5(3),10,8	207
4.9.01	10	1	Surveillance patrol plan 'lacks teeth'	1	0	2	4	3,8,8,3(14)	138
4.9.01	10	1	Threat to MPs who dissented	1	0	3	3	5(3),3,5(10)	76
4.9.01	11	1	The price of passage	3	3	4	5	8,8,13(8),8,27	1500
4.9.01	11	1	Paths of the people smugglers	1	2	4	1	13(8)	368
4.9.01	12	1	How foreign policy turned on Howard	4	1	5	8	13(3);3,3,5,5(3),3,9,5(8)	0
4.9.01	12	1	Canberra bullyboys lack intelligence to stem the tide	5	0	2	1	13(25)	381
4.9.01	12	1	Onus on Carr to bring law and order to wild promises	5	0	4	4	10,3,5,19(10)	296
4.9.01	13	1	SOS	11	1	2	0		316
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Letter	10	0	5		N/a	0
4.9.01	13	1	Cartoon	11	1	2	0		21





7.9.01	10.1	1	What the captain saw - a view simply surreal	1	2	2	2	1.1	626
7.9.01	10	1	We should share Indonesia's burden, says Beazley	1	1	2	1	10	227
7.9.01	14	1	Mission to Jakarta	6	0	2	1	3	248
7.9.01	1.14	1	Angry countries must confront dealers in despair	4	1	5	1	20	0
7.9.01	14	1	PM grasps tight the slippery poll of success	5	1	3	11	13(8),3,3,10,10,10,13(8), 13(19),13(19),8,5(8)	696
7.9.01	1.16	1	Where do we go from here?	3	3	4	5	27,27,13(3), 27,8	1522
7.9.01	16	1	As refugees...we expect compassion	1	1	2	2	27(14),28(14)	404
7.9.01	16	1	Left behind: the forgotten women	1	0	4	2	27.27	134